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World Review

INCORPORATING REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY EDWARD HULTON

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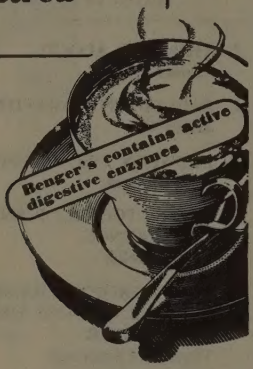

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THINKING ALOUD

EDWARD HULTON

ACROSS THE RHINE

As I write, the Allies have just crossed the Rhine over the Ludendorff bridge at Remagen. The bridge itself is not very beautiful, having been built during the last war to assist the carrying of troops by railway. It is, however, in one of the most beautiful parts of the Rhineland, itself one of the most picturesque parts of Germany.

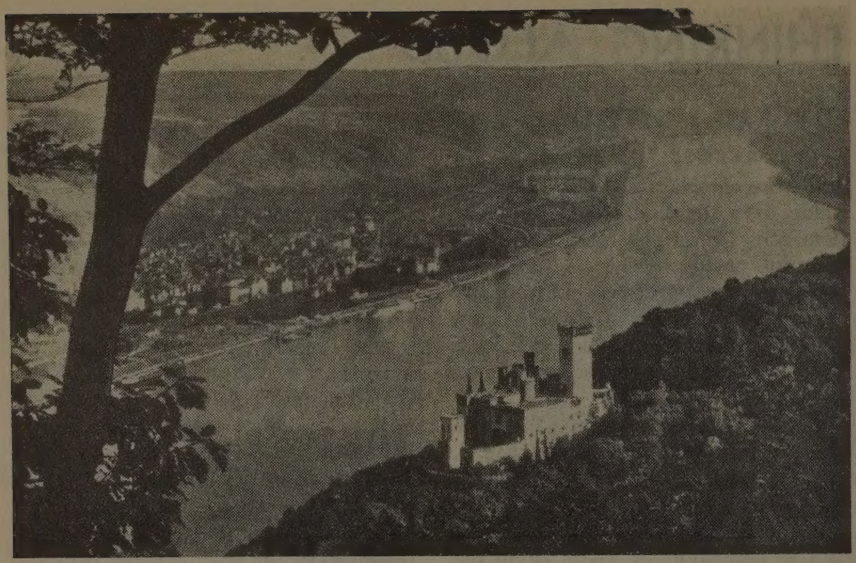
The Rhine has long been a favourite place for travellers. Few, unfortunately, of these, who also visited the southern states of Germany, and Austria, journeyed to the industrial areas of the Rhineland, such as Dusseldorf or Essen, or to the barren and inhospitable-looking lands of Prussia, apart from a trip to Berlin.

On the Rhine they did not go further north than Cologne, itself a fine and very clean city; and from there proceeded by land, or sometimes by river steamer, up the river, the favourite 'reach' being between Cologne and the junction of the Rhine with the Moselle at Coblenz, where so much of the fighting is taking place at present.

On the occasions which I have selected for going up the Rhine it has usually been raining. Nevertheless it is patently a great river, having inescapable grandeur with mystery and romance. There could be no better propagandist for the Reich. The traveller reaches England upon a very sordid Customs quay at Southampton. But as he approaches Germany from France he sees this great river stretching before him. It is essentially big and noble. It has the bigness of Germany. The very majestic rocks and hills on its banks are covered with very numerous castles filled with legends. And if there were no legends existing it would not need the Gothic imagination of a Horace Walpole to create them. Germany's Mediaeval glory! And if it is frequently rainy and misty, this only appears to create for the traveller that mysticism which is supposed to hover over the Reich.

The Rhineland is without doubt an example of the powerful exterior charms of Germany. There seems at first sight to be the bigness and the modernity of the United States, with surprisingly ample remains of a very picturesque past, all apparently well integrated. Neither are delights for the *gastronome* lacking. For the food and the wine of the Rhine are as good as the products of neighbouring France.

I have already suggested that travellers, tourists, students and trippers get a very false picture of Germany, because they nearly always head straight for the romantic districts. It is rather as if a foreigner came to Britain and confined his studies to Devon and Cornwall, North Wales, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, rural Sussex and the Forest of Arden. Visitors go mainly to Southern Germany, and even then they avoid the most modern towns. Thus they bypass Chemnitz in Saxony, and perhaps even Leipzig, but linger long in delightful-looking Dresden. The Southern states had really become backwaters. They were certainly covered with fine mountains, wonderful forests, and the quaintest possible towns and villages, apparently still breathing the gentler spirit of the past. A super-Tudor village in the Black Forest, with its ancient half-timbered houses painted in every possible attractive colour—green, blue, yellow, pink—could not fail to stir the heart. And the



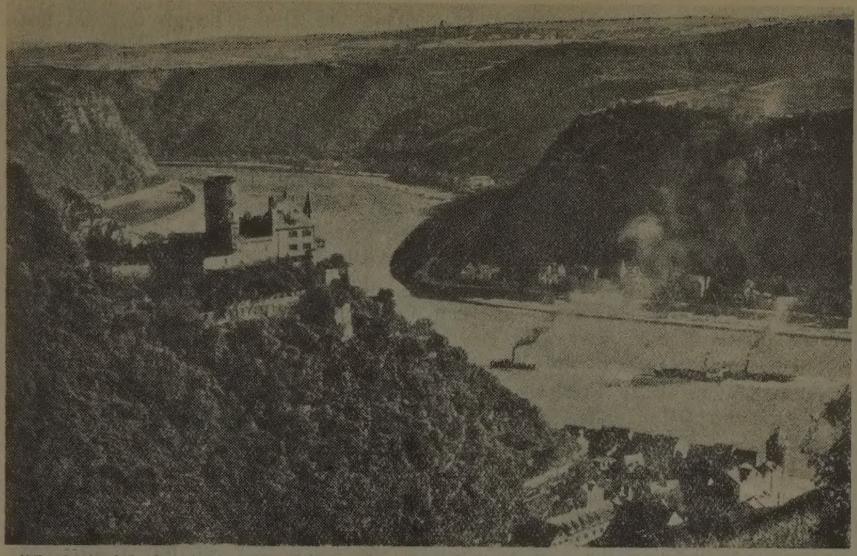
Castles on the Rhine! Schloss Stolzenfels

Rhineland has similar attractions, which I am certain will impress, and at first surprise, our soldiers.

WHAT IS CULTURE?

OUR troops will, in fact, be presented straight away with the now well-known Jekyll and Hyde character of the German people. Similar thoughts led me the other day to think about the true meaning of 'culture', after a talk with Herbert Read. Read is mad keen to preserve and promote culture in the coming New Age, and he is quite right. He feels very strongly that without culture and the pursuit of beauty *the zest for living* will wither away, and our whole civilisation will ultimately fall. He also postulates that there is a distinct difference between 'culture' and 'civilisation'. Culture he defines as active pursuit of the arts; and civilisation as material progress. I think personally that there are really three, and not merely two categories here. There is surely also what we possess in England—an essential decency and co-operative spirit. I would have called this civilisation rather than material advance. But perhaps the word civilisation is best left out altogether. I think there is really material advance, such as they have in the United States; culture, such as there was in Paris; and thirdly, what we have in England (and which could be termed decency with co-operation). True culture must also be sternly divided from mere erudition-about-culture, such as distinguished the modern Germans, and marks some of the French and some of the Americans.

Actually I am not sure that culture makes a people 'good', or even long-surviving. The Ancient Greeks were violent, quarrelsome, cruel and divided; and to misquote Hobbes, 'the life of their civilisation, though not nasty, was brutal and short'. Somewhat similar remarks would hold good about the Italy of the Renaissance, and *mutatis mutandis*, of Paris up to 1940. Culture,



'The Castle of Cats', with St. Goar, and St. Goarshausen, and the Rock of the Loreleis, Rhine maidens who lured travellers to their doom

the pursuit of the artistic and the beautiful, gives you zest, yes. Though perhaps only temporarily, and it gives you brilliance. It does not necessarily give you kindliness nor integration. Isn't culture somewhat like a beautiful woman in a Schiaparelli dress? Beautiful and irridescent, but often brittle, and frequently a bitch! Compared with this, what we have in England is a girl rather broad and flat in the foot, but good-natured and helpful. Mind you, I think that England needs more culture, just as Europe needs more unselfish social co-operation, and the United States needs both.

IS ARCHITECTURE IMPORTANT?

ANOTHER thought which frequently troubles one is, how comes it that Germany, so outwardly attractive is the home of a people who, at the best, are stained by such glaring and brutal faults? If architecture and the design of cities are so important, why are German cities often so attractive? I think that architecture does, in the main, reveal the soul of a people; but there are very many complications. Much of Germany's good architecture is very old. There are the Gothic Cathedrals; the *Rathausen*, evidences of a former vigorous municipal life; and the charming old villages, the outward and visible signs of a time when the Germans formed part of the fabric of Christendom, and were probably no worse than their neighbours. There are also in the Southern states the Church architecture of the Baroque period, informed with the sincere desire of the Catholic Church to make a Counter-reformation during the seventeenth century. Then there are the world-famous classical glories of Munich and Dresden, and of princely palaces and copies of Versailles dotted all over the country. These are infused with the classical spirit of the eighteenth century. They are also perhaps least the mirror of the soul of the people, having been built at the command of wealthy princes in imitation

of France and Italy. Now when we come to the efforts of the 'Second Reich' of 1870 we find that they are brutally ugly and almost unspeakably vulgar. Visit Wiesbaden or similar German 'Victorian' *kur* places. The almost obscene vulgarity of these buildings is worse than the worst that Chicago ever perpetrated; and there is a lot of this kind of stuff in Berlin also. Finally, the artistic efforts of the Housepainter Dictator have been ghastly; and the German Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition of 1936 was a nightmare.

There were certainly many very fine buildings put up in the Reich after the last war in the modern style. These were actually largely financed by United States or British loans; and in the late 'twenties were the stupefaction and the admiration of travellers. They are very adequate examples of the new age of concrete and steel, and effectively express German efficiency. There is certainly, however, nothing very human about them, such as there was in the old buildings of Nuremberg, symbols of a long-vanished German age.

Germany is very impressive to the view, partly because most of the land, outside the bleakness of Prussia, is beautiful; and also, no doubt, because the Reich, until so recently, has been backward, old-fashioned and agricultural. Before the New Empire of 1870 old customs lingered on in the sleepy towns; and walls and gateways, which would have been pulled down by rationalistic 'improvers' even as early as the late eighteenth century in England, remained to delight the eye of the beholder in Germany. And by the time that the Kaiser's new Empire had got started, although the new buildings were so vulgar, the idea had got about the world that antiquities were worthy of preservation. And the Germans became Erudite Nation No. 1 in antiquities; and indeed in culture and 'kunst' of every shape and kind. Though this did not mean that they were really filled with the true spirit of culture. Again, profiting by the experiences of pioneering England, when the industrial areas came to be built up, plans could be made to make them great improvements upon Wigan. Thus even industrial Germany is to the eye greatly superior to England's industrial north.

I think that those who have known Germany at all well are really very puzzled, although they do not always like to admit it. How was it that everyday superficial life at least in the Reich had so many attractions, with cafés—cafés, it might be added, suitable for almost any purse? The reason can only be that Germany partook of the common external life of the Continent of Europe, a life originating in the warm and beautiful Mediterranean which produced the civilisation of Greece and Rome. Mediterranean life, both in Ancient and Modern times, has always meant meeting in the open in the market place. Northern life ever since the time of Tacitus has had something of the seclusion of the green wood. But the Mediterranean customs spread all over Europe, Britain excepted. And no doubt North Germany was specially affected by Austria—and Vienna, the city of *gemütlichkeit*, which had a population perhaps really as much Slav as German, and not unlike in demeanour to the people of the old Russian Empire. Thus we find much charm on the surface of German life, and much savagery within. There were also many decencies in the home life of the Germans before the intrusion of the Nazis. The German father was hard working and kindly, and the mother a good cook and clean, and extremely little addicted to drunkenness in any class. This may be evidence that the Germans were successfully integrated into the smaller groups, the family, the

Rhine and Wine! On the left, *Burg Gutenfels.* On an island, *the Pfalz or Palatine Tower*

city state, and perhaps the small principality. The Empire has never been a successful integration. Certainly the larger and more powerful the group the more unpleasant the Germans become. However, are there any really successful examples of a very big country? The United Kingdom is essentially a small country.

'STATE RIGHTS' IN GERMANY?

THIS raises once more the feasibility of restoring again some of their powers to the German *landen* (or states). It is usually forgotten that Hitler's suppression of their rights about 1935 was illegal; and they might reasonably return to the considerable powers which they still possessed under the Constitution of Weimar drawn up in 1919. They might even be given again the powers and rights which they had after 1870 and until 1919, which included separate state railways, postal services, and nominally, even separate armies. This is not a question of putting the clock back, or of imposing decentralisation. My point is merely that the states were in fact the highest point of group integration to which the Germans ever successfully attained. Therefore they ought to be regarded as a starting point for future growth; which it is hoped will finally mean their integration, not so much into a new Reich as into the fabric of Europe. The Kaiser's Empire of 1870 was at best a vulgar, shoddy and premature growth. However, the cultures of the non-Prussian states were compelled, partly by the direct force of Bismarck, and partly by the force of admiration for worldly and military success, to whore after the new Empire—which itself was based on the military efficiency of Prussia, an upstart and never integrated state, representing the domination of a new and artificial army and civil service copied from French eighteenth-century

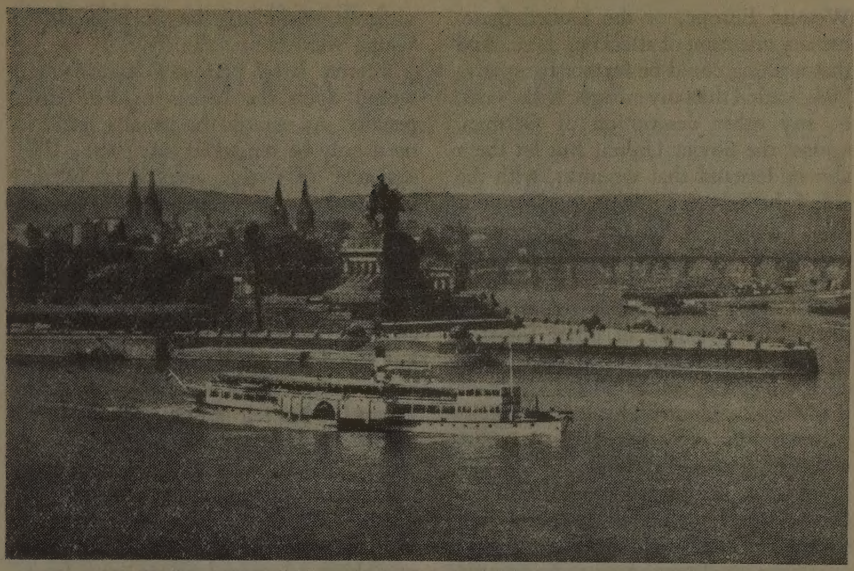
Mainz. The Rhine was formerly ruled largely by three Catholic Archbishops, those of Köln, Mainz and Trier

ideas of efficiency, and leagued with the old feudal Junker landlords, superimposed upon a population of exceedingly backward peasants, largely of Slav race.

If Germany is to find her soul again she must needs be reminded of her past glories, which were the city governments and guilds of the Middle Ages, the Rhine school of painters and artificers, and the culture and rationalism of the South, a culture wholly alien to upstart sour and vulgar Prussia. That is why there is a very great deal to be said for making Frankfurt, or some other Southern city, the capital of a new German federation, in place of Berlin.

A SENSIBLE SETTLEMENT?

To come to even more vital considerations, we have not much time now left to us in order to formulate an intelligent and effective policy for Germany after the coming Victory. The *Economist*, a few months ago, urged a moderate peace; and it returns to the attack this week. Very unfortunately, the views of the *Economist* on this matter have failed to glean a great harvest of support. This is very melancholy. And I am afraid that I find very, very little guidance for the ordinary man upon this essential topic. The popular papers are brimful of attempts to persuade us to give way to sheer foolish hatred of the Germans, as a 'race', a well-known gambit of reactionaries, to cover up and mask their own sins. An individual, styling himself, the Diplomatic Correspondent of the *People*, in the issue of that journal for 11 March instant, disclosed a bloodcurdling and 'fiendish' plot to continue Nazi intrigue after the war is won. So what? Just what does it amount to? Of course the Nazis are going to continue every possible intrigue after the war; and we are hardly in need of the inestimable services of the 'Diplomatic Correspondent' of the *People* newspaper to point out to us this



Confluence of the Moselle and Rhine, with 'grosse Denkmal' (or big Imperial statue)

self-evident fact. 'What, however, does all this add up to? Merely a hysterical attempt (1) to divert the people from social injustices at home; and (2) to prevent them from calmly and coolly appraising the political situation in regard to Germany, Europe and the world.

The *Economist*, with admirable sanity, and equal clarity, reiterates that it is not moved by any undue tenderness towards the German people. Neither does it want to make use of them for the purpose of diplomatic intrigues against other countries. It merely wants to draw some profit from the unpleasant lessons of Versailles; and to urge us not to bite off more than we can chew. Neither the British, and still less the Americans, are going to be willing for long to enforce a settlement which means great inconvenience and sacrifice, and in regard to which doubts can gradually grow up about its justice. The *Economist*'s policy is therefore, in practice: to limit the severest measures to the few years after the war when our tempers are hot; and after that to concentrate on the effective disarmament of Germany.

'YE OLDE FASCISTE BEESTIE'

UNLUCKILY, a new complication has arisen. At the present moment to suggest any form of moderation *vis-à-vis* Germany is to be accused of being anti-Soviet. The Soviets, having been the allies of Germany at the beginning of the war, are now going all out on the Atrocity Front; though they possess their own committee of German generals —and the real goal of their policy, or many policies, is not known. However, at the moment, any Western writer who has anything to say in favour of moderation or reason is courting attack from *War and the Working Classes*. This is an intolerable situation which we should no longer tolerate. Let the Russians rest assured that no single person in Britain,

Western Europe, or the United States has any intention of attacking them. And that nothing could be further from anybody's mind than any intrigue with Nazis, or any other description of German, against the Soviet Union. But let them also understand that we must, with the aid of the light that is in us, work out our own solution of the German problem without being accused of being 'Friends of the Fascist Beast'.

Unfortunately a similar Russian tendency is discernible in other theatres, notably the Balkans. Those local politicians who have lent at all to Britain or the Western countries have been almost automatically pronounced Fascists. The unfortunate General Radescu, the late Premier of Rumania, certainly had a good laugh before his fall. His Rumanian sense of humour no doubt for a moment overcame his discretion when he pointed out how every opponent of the Communists was at once automatically labelled as 'a Fascist beast', until the whole thing had become pure farce.

REPRIEVE?

Our British newspapers have meanwhile been full of the 'Cleft Chin Murder Case' (a silly and irrelevant name); and the pompous and self-righteous have seized every possible occasion to deplore this publicity. Why? How salutary it is that the English are civilised enough to be excited by the killing of one man. I hope that they will long continue to consider this a ghastly outrage, and therefore something worthy to be talked about. There is little doubt that the case was one of unusual 'social', though not legal, interest. A man is shot, for a paltry sum, in the most casual way, by an Allied soldier, accompanied by a young and pretty strip-tease artist, whose casualness seems to have been equal to his own; and who (it was afterwards disclosed) was a party to other acts of violence, including the throwing of a young waitress into the river.

Interest later, perfectly legitimately, settled upon the merits of the death penalty. As regards the penalty itself, it need only be remarked that even a 'life sentence' of twelve years is no picnic. In regard to the personality of 'Marina' Jones, she is certainly young, at eighteen and a half, though apparently old in experience. It would seem, on the evidence, that if ever there were a criminal, she is such a person. No act in hot blood this; but a calculated series of violent acts from motives of gain. Ernest Bevin fell down on his sentimental explanation of the crime. For it appears that not only are free books, etc., provided by the education authority in question for those who secure free places in their schools, but that this candidate was about a hundred places away from a pass. Neither does she seem to have suffered any real poverty or hardship. Though what a strictly Nonconformist atmosphere in such a hideous place as Neath, South Wales, might tempt one to do is another question. Mr. Morrison had a hard and unenviable task; and in reprieving Jones he took perhaps the traditional line in not hanging such a young woman. Her best excuses are no doubt her youth; the depressing surroundings of her native locality, in comparison with the imagined lights of London; and the modern cinema, which she must often have visited, in which the gangster remains one of the chief heroes, if not perhaps the official one.

Nevertheless, that the denizens of a country wracked by nearly six years of war, and blasted for nearly as long a time, could still find an isolated violent death of public interest is very much to their credit, and supplies a further proof that, though the British can be terrible in war, they still want peace and love justice.

PARLIAMENT—MONTHLY COMMENTS

JAMES FOX

COMMONS AND FOOTPATHS MENACED?

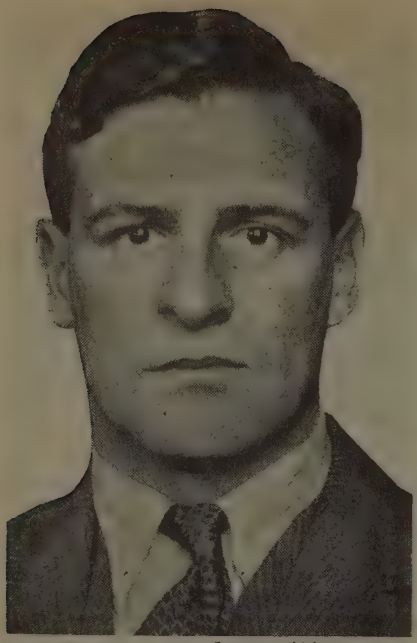
A STIR arose in the House of Commons on Tuesday, 13 February, over the Requisitioned Land and War Works Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that the Government had spent somewhere around £700,000,000 on works carried out on requisitioned land, or on land which remained in the possession of its private owners. If no Bill were passed, he said, the land with its buildings on it, subject to adjustments, would be handed back to the private owners with, so far as re-instatement had not been carried out, compensation for damage. The Bill makes it possible for the Government to acquire land which would cost too much to re-instate, or which it may wish to use for its own purposes after the war. No wonder the Tories could not swallow it! Here is a Bill which will increase the amount of land which the nation can own and which, at the same time, promises to take £700,000,000 from under the noses of the present owners. R. H. Turton (U., Thirsk and Malton) led the opposition and was supported by General Sir George Jeffreys (U., Petersfield), who thought that land might be acquired by the Government simply in order to cut its losses. Owners, he said, had put up with much during the national emergency . . . 'but they cannot be expected to put up with injustice, injury and even undue inconvenience when the emergency is over.' His white moustache grew fiercer as he contemplated the miseries of these poor landowners. Protests were made by many Tories about the public rights and commons and footpaths, but, said Moelwyn Hughes (Labour, Carmarthen) they were merely 'seizing a grand opportunity to try to prevent the passage of a Bill which achieves the magnificent objective of bringing more of the land of this country under the control of the people of this country.'

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM NEEDED

Thursday, 15 February, saw a long discussion on the Government's White Paper on Local Government. The Minister of Health said that the Government's principal objective was that Local Authorities should be certain of their position after the war and that it must be made quite clear that no Local Authority would have its status or boundary altered against its wishes without a local inquiry. Speaking for the Labour Party, Arthur Greenwood (Wakefield) said that, as long as it was not intended to be a statement of finality, he could accept the motion. The only strong opposition came from Clement Davies, the fiery and emotional Liberal Member for Montgomery, who said that local authorities were being asked to do more and more without being given the wherewithal to do it. Another point he made was that if the telephone and the motor-car had been invented before the Local Authorities were created, a different structure would have been chosen. The best speech of the day was made by Fred Messer (Labour, Tottenham South), who said that there were two types of service—one which might be called impersonal, such as electricity, gas and water supplies, and the other: human services, such as education, health, maternity, child welfare and care of the mentally afflicted. The first might be administered officially; the second must be left to local units. In a particularly bright winding-up speech, Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, said he would like to see a good municipal Civil Service established.

AIR ACCIDENTS SCANDAL

When Morrison had finished, the House turned to consider the question of Air Accidents. Quintin Hogg (U., Oxford) asked for an explanation of the large number of accidents which had happened to 'planes run by Transport Command and kindred services.' 'The House,' he said, 'requires more information and independent inquiries and less complacency.' In reply, Sir Archibald Sinclair said that Members would not expect him to answer every point which had been put. In fact, however, he made a somewhat grandiloquent oration and failed to answer a single one. When he had only about seven minutes to go, Lord Winterton (U., Horsham and Worthing) jumped up and said: 'Can the right hon. Gentleman devote the remainder of



KENNETH LINDSAY, *wants State to pay higher proportion of teachers' salaries*

his speech, not to praise of his own Department or the Royal Air Force, but to explaining the circumstances which have given rise to this Debate?' 'That,' said Sinclair, 'is an ungenerous observation.' But it did apparently have the effect of bringing him down to earth, as he made some attempt during the last few minutes of his speech to deal with the volume of criticism coming from Members on all sides.

On 20 February, a long Debate took place on Teachers' Salaries. Kenneth Lindsay (Independent National, Kilmarnock) in opening asked that the State should pay a higher proportion of the total salary bill for teachers. W. G. Cove (Labour, Aberavon), who is one of the teachers' representatives, embarked on a series of altercations with the redoubtable and acid Mr. Pickthorn (U., Cambridge University), who said Cove 'thinks he knows about this, but he does not.' Later they had another battle, as follows:

Cove: 'The hon. Member may laugh—'

Pickthorn: 'Surely I may laugh, but I did not laugh.'

Cove: 'The trouble is that sometimes we do not know whether the hon. Member is laughing or not. Somehow, he has got into the habit of sneering.'

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: 'This exchange of personalities must cease.'

Cove: 'I am sorry, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, but I was rather attracted by the hon. Member opposite.'

Pickthorn: 'I thank the hon. Member very much. I suppose it is my fatal charm.'

The next day the House turned to the consideration of a Water Bill. (No one can say that there isn't plenty of variety in the House of Commons!) This Bill, according to the Minister of Health, Mr. Willink, is a measure dealing with the conservation and better utilisation of the country's water resources and the improvement of the administration of water supplies. Pretty well every Member, except Clement Davies, welcomed the Bill, at least as a step in the right direction. Davies, however, did not think that it went half far enough and described some of the appalling conditions existing today in rural areas. 'Frampton (Dorset) has 50 out of its 172 houses with bucket lavatories only. Out of Bangor's 84 houses, 45 have earth closets and householders have to fetch their water from a distance of more than 200 feet.' His attack was described by Major York (U., Ripon)—who has probably never had to use an earth closet in his life—as 'very unfair'. Somerset de Chair (U., Norfolk, South-West) doubted whether anything would in fact be done, and said he felt like a desert traveller who, 'extremely thirsty when crossing the desert, sees the mirage of a wonderful fountain spray in the distance, which, at nearer approach, continually recedes.'

On 22 February, the lawyers had a day's innings. As Lt.-Col. Marlowe (U., Brighton), himself a lawyer, said: 'This is the sort of occasion on which large numbers of Members retire to the smoking-room and watching the tape machine say, "Those lawyers are at it again".' A discussion took place on the Law Reform (Contributory Negligence) Bill which, as the Solicitor-General (Major Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe) explained, deals with the case where one person sues another for damages and the damage has been caused partly by the fault of the person and partly by the fault of the other. At the present time, if the person who sues has contributed to the accident by his own default, he fails and recovers nothing, even though his negligence may be very small, and the negligence of the other person very great. Lewis Silkin (Labour, Peckham) thought it was a good Bill, in spite of the fact that judges and juries would have to depend almost entirely on what witnesses had seen and on their recollection many months after the event. Moelwyn Hughes became very

technical in describing what he called 'the donkey case of Davies v. Mann', but Ness Edwards (Labour, Caerphilly), despite this, was bold enough to weigh in as almost the only layman. Dr. Russell Thomas (Liberal National, Southampton) was afraid that the Bill would increase the number of actions taken wilfully against professional men on the off-chance of getting some damages, to which Glenvil Hall (Labour, Colne Valley) replied that if in the past 'doctors have been guilty of negligence and have got away with it, it is time that racket was stopped.' This, needless to say, enraged Dr. Thomas. A long argument then arose about Workmen's Compensation, some Members being rather perturbed that workmen are excluded under the Bill and left to make their claims under the Workmen's Compensation Act. The Solicitor-General, however, said that he wanted to make it quite clear that the workman who suffers an accident in the course of his employment will not be put in any worse position than any other member of the community.

CYCLIST HERBERT WILLIAMS COLLIDES

As soon as this Bill had been read a second time, the House passed, suitably enough, to discuss the Road Transport Lighting (Cycles) Bill, which was strongly opposed by Sir Herbert Williams (U., Croydon South). Sir Herbert is, I think, not a well-known cyclist, but he always champions anything he takes up with tremendous vigour. Before he had been going long, he ran up against Lady Astor (U., Plymouth, Sutton), who said that she was very interested to learn that most accidents happened between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m. 'Does it ever occur to the hon. Member that the pubs open at 6?' Sir Herbert: 'I knew that the Noble Lady was not listening, because what I said —'

The Deputy-Chairman: 'I do not think that the question of pubs arises under this Clause.' After this collision he continued a bit before once again running into Lady Astor. Then the following exchange took place: 'If I asked my hon. Friend the Member for Burton (Mr. Gretton) whether Bass's beer was good, he would say: "Certainly", and if I asked the Noble Lady if Plymouth soda water was good, I should have a similar affirmative.' Lady Astor: 'If I asked the hon. Gentleman if whisky was good he would say "Yes".' And so it went on.

Finally, and again appropriately, the House concluded its official labours for the day by discussing the Licensing Planning (Temporary Provisions) Bill, which enabled Lady Astor to make a further attack upon the drink trade and one that, this time, was really in order. Petty-Officer A. P. Herbert (Independent, Oxford University) made the good point that if a brewer wanted to make a pub bigger and better, certain Licensed Justices would say: 'No, if we allow amenities to be added, there will be a larger drinking area. We would rather keep the place squalid.'

SIR HERBERT WILLIAMS *opposed cyclists' lighting bill*

The House had got very interested in bicycles and beer but the most important business of the day really arose on an Adjournment Motion led by Hugh Lawson (Commonwealth, Skipton), who raised the point as to why the Government should be allowed to send pamphlets out to troops in the Far East explaining their Reconstruction Proposals. However impartial they may be, he maintained, they will look to many troops like an argument explaining the case for the legislation. He asked, therefore, for a certain amount of space to be devoted to criticisms in detail by the Liberal and Labour Parties of the various controversial measures, such as the Town and Country Planning Act. Arthur Henderson (Financial Secretary to the War Office), replying for the Government, maintained that statements could be purely objective.

On Friday, 23 February, the House gave a second Reading to the Ministry of Fuel and Power Bill. This Bill simply continues the Minister's functions, other than emergency ones, after the period of emergency is over. Major Lloyd George made it quite clear that it would not give the Minister any powers over industry or over individuals which have not already been given. Dai Grenfell (Labour, Gower) did not seem to think the Bill was much use. 'There has been established a large staff,' he said, 'for purposes which are exactly the same as they were before the Department was set up.' He prophesied that during 1945 we should be lucky if we produced 175 million tons of coal, which is less than had been produced in any year since he began work—51 years ago. J. H. Wootton-Davies (U., Heywood and Radcliffe) shared this pessimism. The country, he said, expected from this Bill more action and more coal. Austin Hopkinson (National, Mossley), who is a sort of professional independent, described the Bill as 'pure Fascism' and announced suddenly that the Labour Party and the National Socialists in Germany were brothers in thought. At which the Deputy-Speaker intervened: 'The hon. Member is now going very wide of the subject matter of the Bill.' Tom Brown (Labour, Ince) and Frank Collindridge (Labour, Barnsley) spoke of the need for skilled labour, better educational facilities, safety and transport. Emanuel Shinwell (Labour, Seaham) gave the Bill his blessing as a beginning, but only as a beginning.

The most important Debate of the whole month was, of course, that on the Crimean Conference, which lasted for three days, 27 and 28 February and 1 March. We will leave out the Prime Minister's speech—'a speech which, for once has not provoked any Members of this House to anger.' (Greenwood.) The speakers were divided into those who trusted the U.S.S.R. and those who did not. Lord Dunglass (U., Lanark), who was Parliamentary Private Secretary to Neville Chamberlain, and who seems to be trying to stage a come-back, talked a great deal about 'integrity' and 'acts of justice'. Captain McEwen (U., Berwick and Haddington), Chairman of the powerful 1922 Committee, made a long simile about a friend of his being embraced by a bear. He said he registered a definite and uncompromising protest against the Agreement. Captain Alan Graham (U., Chester, Wirral) read a bitter speech about the 'actual rulers of present-day Poland, the Russian Secret Police'. On the other side, D. N. Pritt (Labour, Hammersmith North) said that the achievements of the Crimean Conference were perhaps among the most hopeful things that have happened in the world in the last 25 years or more, and remarked that the type of speech already made in the House 'if turned from good English into bad German would simply be a speech by Hitler.' Tom Driberg (Independent, Maldon) said that McEwen's speech was 'an ill-omen of the mood and sense of responsibility with which the Conservative Party is proposing to go to the country and confront the problems of the Peace that lie ahead of us.' He went on to give some remarkable figures of the expenditure of the Polish Government in London on lavish entertainments and streams of pamphlets—all of which were paid in fact by the British taxpayer.

THORNEYCROFT'S BRILLIANT SPEECH

The next day was occupied with the Polish Amendment moved by Maurice Petherick (U., Penryn and Falmouth) in what was, whether one agreed with it or not, a very able speech. The motion regretted 'the decision to transfer to another Power the territory of an Ally contrary to treaty and to Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter.' Captain Thorneycroft (U., Stafford), in a particularly brilliant speech, supported the Government on the ground that one had to face the facts of the European situation. An unusual contribution was made by R. E. Manningham-Buller (U., Daventry), a Member who is generally to be found on the side of reaction, but who may now have turned over a new leaf as a result of his recent visit to Moscow. 'I see nothing whatever,' he said, 'to justify treating the signatures to the Agreement as valueless.' Somehow, one feels that before he went to the U.S.S.R. he would have seen many reasons, but his speech certainly showed the value of M.P.s being sent on good-will tours. Emanuel Shinwell reminded the House of the past record of many of the supporters of the Polish Amendment. The names, he said, were reminiscent of the Chamberlain era, the Anglo-German Fellowship era and many other questionable episodes that have occurred in the past . . . Having regard to their public record, it appears to me that they are much more concerned about hostility to Soviet Russia than they are about promoting the best interests of Poland. After the Foreign Secretary had done his best to calm down the House, the Division showed 25 Members in favour of the Amendment and 396 against it. Except for Dick Stokes (Labour, Ipswich), every one of the 25 were Conservatives and most of them notorious for their anti-Soviet attitude on all occasions.

WHAT OF GERMANY?

After the excitement of Polish Amendment Day, Thursday was comparatively quiet. The main discussion centred on the treatment of Germany after the war. Sidney Silverman (Labour, Nelson and Colne) remarked that 'if it were true that something in the blood, or something in the nature, or something in the soul of the German people as such were alone responsible for war, nobody would be bothered about a world security organisation. It would not be necessary.' He maintained that unless steps were taken towards international co-operation, including co-operation on economic matters, war would be bound to break out again before so very long. He was followed by P. W. Jewson (Liberal-National, Great Yarmouth), another traveller to Moscow, who began his remarks with the somewhat astonishing statement that the week before last he had found himself in a Persian Garden, discussing the works of Omar Khayyám. Kenneth Pickthorn said that as far as he knew it was 'the first time in history that one country has had both its régime and its boundaries altered in the course of a war by three other nations, all in alliance with it, without that country being present.' During the course of his speech, W. J. Brown (Independent, Rugby) intervened for a moment. Pickthorn rose to his feet again and muttered acidly: 'Nobody seems to be quite sure whether that was funny or not; if I were to give a lead, I should say not.' We had, said Pickthorn, to go in the light of the past, not in the light of the future. An hon. Member: 'Why not?' Pickthorn: 'Because the light of the future is not here yet.' J. McGovern (Labour, Shettleston) who alone with his colleague, Campbell Stephen (Labour, Glasgow, Camlachie), provided the opposition to the Government's Vote of Confidence, said that he had no sympathy for the German people because they would be able to sit back and enjoy watching us saddled with 'permanent conscription, tremendous air and naval fleets and the training of young men in this country, as envisaged by those who have power at the moment, as the inheritance of the struggle for democracy and freedom.' He also made the somewhat surprising observation that the Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee) and the leaders of the Labour Party had been on the show-grounds of Moscow and other Russian cities, and the people threw balls at them as the social Fascists of Great Britain. The Deputy Prime Minister: 'Does the hon. Member suggest that I was there?' McGovern: 'Not in person. The right hon. Gentleman was there,

THDENEYCROFT made the best speech on Yalta

but he did not know it. He was there in effigy.' Mr. Attlee himself made far and away the best case for the Crimean Decisions. 'I rejoice,' he said, 'that in this White Paper, we have the resolve to establish a general organisation to maintain peace and security and to remove the causes of war. I am afraid I have bored hon. Members of the House very often by insisting, in season and out of season, on my belief in the principle of collective security. I believe that it is only by the adoption of this principle that we can prevent war, and that we can reduce the overhead burden of armaments and build up the prosperity of the world. I hope to go to the San Francisco Conference as an idealist, but not a "starry-eyed idealist", because I have always held that international co-operation for the prevention of war is cold common sense.'

In his final speech, Mr. Eden said that there must be Division, because in Debates such as these the critics made most of the running, while the defenders of the Government remained silent, it being much more fun to scratch than just simply to purr. In the end, as everyone knows, the Government got a 413 vote to 0 majority, and McGovern got a nod of thanks from the Prime Minister for challenging the Division. Pickthorn, Stokes and Ivor Thomas, among others, abstained from voting.

BETWEEN TWO CONFERENCES

LORD DERWENT

THE news-reel blinks at us across the dark, plushy London auditorium . . Churchill with his friendly grin (schoolboy into bulldog), Roosevelt thin and distinctly haggard, Stalin with his own particular smile, that of the Orient, which may mean nothing or everything. There is applause: for whom? Impossible to know, since the trinity continues to be indissoluble. My own, I fear (but only from a reflex) was for the background of the Livadia Palace, whose pseudo-Turkery delighted me, calling up for me memories of the haunting *Ulanova* floating through the ballet founded on Pushkin's 'Fountain of Bakshi-Sarai' (the fountain is near Siniferopol, and commemorates the Khan of Crimea's passion for his Polish captive, assassinated by his jealous favourite; and did not the Potoki family inhabit the Livadia Palace itself?).

But once back in the calmer atmosphere of home, we pick up the *Sunday Times* and read how Mr. Walter Lippman is telling America: 'The predominance of the "Big Three" is a direct consequence of the war. . . Their predominance has already diminished as the war has come nearer to its end . . . Probably there will never be another meeting of this kind, attended only by the "Big Three",' and he goes on to suggest that their authority is certain, in practice, to be shared and become decentralised. And, indeed—here is the San Francisco Conference announced for the end of April, and China and France are to be consulted and asked to help in sponsoring invitations to it. The magic number is broken; the circle is widening . . .

I write before the debate on Yalta that is imminent in both Houses. They will doubtless clarify the situation and shed light on the major aspects of public opinion, though it is reasonable to doubt that the present House of Commons, on the eve of a General Election, is a true mirror of them, especially since 'the boys' are not yet home. For the situation needs clarifying. I remember inevitably the impression made on a well-known Swiss newspaper editor by a short visit he made not long ago: 'I cannot help feeling that the English have no precise conception of what should be their own contribution to the reconstruction period that is coming', he said to me, while admitting that his conclusions might be belied by a longer stay. A fortnight ago, an English editor of a no less well-known monthly remarked to me that, having made one of his infrequent trips into the busy world of Fleet Street and the B.B.C., he found much more doubt and despondency than business. Something in the air. . . . or rather an absence of something, a presence of an element that is not reassuring, even now, after the Yalta communiqué, with not only San Francisco, but peace looming ahead; and that element is not the result of obvious impending difficulties where Poland is concerned, nor indeed of anything obvious at all.

Will the following suggestion for a creed, both positive and negative, put a helpful ray through the fog—or won't it? Here it is:

'I believe in the Atlantic Charter. I believe in the inevitability of the "Big Three" dominating the coming years; since they are the victors in this struggle to preserve the good way of life for the world, they are agreed to work together with other well-disposed nations for this end, and if this immense project can be made to evolve satisfactorily, nothing but immense good can come of it, and the more collaboration[1] we can see taking place, the better.

'I believe in Russia, not because I am impressed by the size and achievements of the Red Army or by her visible and potential riches, but because Victor Hugo saw the truth about her just over 100 years ago: "This Empire, still young in the old continent, has grown during the last century with a singular rapidity. Its future is of an enormous weight in our destinies. It is not impossible that its *barbarism* may come one day to re-temper our civilisation." In other words, I believe in the reality behind the veils that its governments have so long drawn down between us and the Russian people; their superb vitality, their natural warm-heartedness, their basic humanity, their present zeal for learning all they can learn, their real sense of art (not the one visible now, which is nothing to what they could show), all these untapped possibilities let loose by their own private and essentially Russian revolution. But with regard to Europe, I do *not* believe that Russia can play the dominant part; not now because she has a great deal too much to restore at home, *and* because she is not yet *politically* ripe for it; not later, either, because Janus-faced, she looks as much towards Asia as

[1] A word badly in need of a coat of whitewash.

towards Europe, and that will apply just as well even when she *is* politically ripe for it.

'I believe in America; not the America of the banks and shipyards and Ford, but the America of Lincoln and Whitman, the ever-youthful enthusiasm for democracy and for all fine causes, the rich, implacable and disorderly individualism of the American people, which show so clearly how full and human a thing democracy is, namely, a patchwork of faults and virtues. But I do *not* believe that Europe is America's pigeon, because one of the faults of America is that American public opinion is *mobile qual pium' al vento*, and that even if she had any regard or affection for Europe (and she has not) we cannot be sure that she will continue to interest herself in it, and, in any case, she has the whole of Central and South America and (alas!) Canada to occupy her time. America too (though not in the pejorative sense, either) is a Mr. Facing-both-Ways.

'I believe in Europe, because, bone of our geographical bone that she is, and flesh of our historical and cultural flesh that she is, I must, even if I did not want to and if I would sometimes out of laziness and cowardice rather leave her to her age-long family bickering, her suicidal passion for civil war. I believe in Europe because the best of her is a self of which England is part.

'And lastly and mostly, I believe in Great Britain and the British Empire. I believe in Great Britain, because I (to quote a modern writer) believe that "though it is said that the conditions of England's rise to greatness no longer prevail (seeing that she is rivalled or out-rivalled in trade, finance and industrial production) her greatness is of the past and cannot be of the future, her greatness *is* of the present, and it *is* of the future, if it be her will." I believe in Great Britain because apart from "Shakespeare in the front window", as Mr. Priestley once wrote, we have so many other goods: the wisdom of our long political experience, our sense of justice, our passion for all four freedoms (and more, if there are any), our mild but precious madness and our God-given sense of humour, and the new sense of unity and democratic values with which we shall have come out of this appalling struggle. I believe in the British Empire because this now adult family is our creation and our pride, the Empire which, as the Australian High Commissioner in London said "will emerge weakened, certainly, by its prodigious efforts, during the years of war, but strengthened in character and resolution and more closely united than ever in its history"; the Empire which, as Mr. G. M. Young pointed out, "can act as a bridge between us and the United States"[1]—and if there were any doubt as to the Empire's interest in Europe, there is the Commonwealth representatives' unity of view made visible at the Commonwealth Relations Conference, the view that "the United Kingdom, with complete backing from the Empire, should play a full rôle in post-war Europe, and that, however distant the Dominions might be from the European scene, they could not contract-out, and, in fact, should take an active part in the reconstruction of the ravaged countries of the West." And if the remote Dominions believe this, I believe that we have no right to shirk the rôle that is incumbent on us—of being the *prime movers* in the reconstruction plans for Europe, when *Europe* (Western Europe, in any case, phoenix-France, where our stock is still so high, in spite of everything, renascent Belgium, Holland, Norway and a good deal of the rest of Europe, perhaps, that cannot always choose) is only waiting for us to take the lead, as can be demonstrated, by endless testimonials—and this applies as much to the new face of Europe as represented by the Resistance movements ("more than lines on the map, these aggrieved and bewildered youths will make the future pattern of Europe")[2] as to the old one we know, the mirror of our own, since "England is of Europe, but not in Europe. She and Europe are one. Without her, Europe cannot be. Without Europe, she cannot be".'[3]

Well—*Kleiner Mann, was nun?* I am (with my maladroit methods and impeccable intentions) merely suggesting that if you can recite the equivalent of this each morning, you will then not only feel reassured as to your own future, but be able with impunity to allow your country to embark on any long-term grandiose schemes, in association with Big Threes, Fours, Fives and Sixes, that may appeal to it. Too much Coué? I do not think so, because I have considered what I believe to be the reality, not a wish-thinking fantasy. Too much Jingo? (One of my old friends accused me the other day of being 'an Air-Force Blimp', which was kind neither to the Air Force nor to me). 'Every age has its typical folly, and that of ours is nationalism,' says Bertrand Russell. But it is sometimes such sweet folly—sometimes, even, such sweet wisdom. Think it over. But think now—for Spring will be a little late this year. April 25th, precisely.

[1] '(In certain matters), the word of the Dominions counts for more in the United States than anything that comes from this country.' So much the better.

[2] Anne Hare McCormick.

[3] F. A. Voigt.

THE OUTCOME OF BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE

PETER DRUCKER

It is not so very surprising that the United Nations Monetary Conference which was held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, during the first three weeks of last July failed to solve the problems of international economic life which it was supposed to solve; in that respect it differed little from other international economic conferences that have preceded it. It is also not at all unusual for conferences of this type to come out with what is made to look like a grandiose achievement—though the final agreement of Bretton Woods was a good deal more ambitious in its claims than is usual. But, while not achieving what it claimed to have achieved, the Bretton Woods Conference produced, completely unannounced and hardly noticed, one major economic and political result. It brought the Soviet Union back into international economic life after twenty-five years of isolation. What is more: the manner in which Russia abandoned her self-imposed exile was clearly meant to strengthen America's position in international politics. For the first time on a major issue Stalin seems to have acted according to the expectations on which President Roosevelt had based his policy of unlimited co-operation with the Soviet Union in the post-war world.

Since the Conference ended, some of its members have complained privately about what they consider the scanty newspaper coverage given to this meeting of financial and economic experts from forty-four nations. After all, there is general agreement that few matters are more important today than the future of international economics. To find a solution, some of the more famous economic thinkers and practitioners of today had come together from all corners of the earth. They agreed both on basic principles and on technical means—in itself somewhat of a miracle, as no two economists have ever before been known to agree on anything, let alone on monetary theory. Finally, they unanimously decided to set up international monetary and banking funds totalling almost twenty billion dollars. Ten years ago such a conference would have been hailed by economic writers all the world over as an epoch-making event; would have made all the headlines, and would have kept all the commentators and economic experts busy for months. Yet though the press was given every facility to cover the Conference, it paid less attention to it than to the heat-wave. Even the economic and financial magazines have not devoted much space to it though they are not, like the daily press, frightened off by the boring technical details and the incomprehensible economic slang with which monetary experts are wont to clutter up their discussions.

Newspapermen and writers may well have become a little bit too cynical about international conferences. But in the case of Bretton Woods, their attitude was fully justified. They knew, for instance—as did, of course, all the delegates—that the agreement reached there is worthless unless ratified by America and Great Britain. Without this ratification by the two countries which together hold almost fifty per cent of the shares, neither the proposed ten-billion-dollar world monetary fund nor the nine-billion-dollar world bank can begin to function. And it is practically certain that neither the United States Congress nor the British Parliament will accept the agreement unless modified beyond recognition. A very strong British Government might conceivably ram it down the throat of a very weak House of Commons. But in order to do that, the British Government would first have to be solid on the agreement itself; and a good many members of the Churchill Cabinet share the belief common in England that the agreement is far too favourable to the United States and far too unfavourable to British interest to be accepted. In this country, the chances for Congressional acceptance are even less bright; it would take a minor political revolution to make two-thirds of the Senate approve an agreement which a great many of our financial experts and bankers consider as far too favourable to the British and dangerous to our own interests. Thus the agreement is likely to become another expression of good intentions rather than the basis of international economic life.

Even if the miracle should happen, and if both the United States and Britain could be persuaded to accept the Bretton Woods proposals, the agreement would hardly become effective.

The Small and the Large: THOR THORS, *Minister of Iceland, and* MORGENTHAU, *U.S. Secretary of Treasury*

Indeed, one major result of the Monetary Conference was that it made very clear to all concerned that to set up an international monetary machine is not an effective solution of the problems of international economic life today. Like all monetary systems, the world currency fund and the world bank which the Bretton Woods agreement proposes to create rest on the assumption that international economy will be more or less in balance. It would be the purpose of these two international agencies to smooth out minor fluctuations and to neutralise short-term disturbances of international economic life. And that was made very clear at Bretton Woods —neither of them could, or should, tackle a basic maladjustment. For their limited purpose, the world fund and the world bank would probably do all right—perhaps a little better even than the pre-1914 gold standard which they are to replace. The trouble is, however, that in the international economy today there are two fundamental long-term disturbances which would have to be overcome before any international monetary agency could operate successfully: the disturbance created by the peculiar position of America and by that of Great Britain. These two factors prevented the gold standard from functioning when it was restored after the last war. They were largely responsible for the currency chaos of the 'thirties. They would just as surely jam any other monetary machinery, especially as both disturbances have been greatly aggravated by the war and its economic effects.

The United States is the only country which has continuously been selling more to the outside world than it buys from it. It has also no payment to make abroad for which it could use the money owed to it for the goods it sells to the outside world. This means that the outside world always needs more dollars to buy American goods than it can obtain by selling goods to this country; and there is, therefore, a permanent scarcity of dollars in the world.

In the post-war world, this scarcity of dollars will probably become more acute than it was before the war. This country plans to increase its sales abroad, especially in mechanical goods, such as automobiles, aeroplanes and machines. It also plans to hold all its old markets for such goods as cotton and tobacco. At the same time, we may well buy less from other countries than before the war as we have become largely independent in many raw materials, such as rubber and high-grade metals, which we used to import. Even a lowering of American tariff barriers might not alter this, as there are not

many industries abroad who could sell to us large quantities of goods at a lower price than we can produce them.

If nothing is done to remedy such a situation, there can be no stable currency except the dollar. All other currencies would be in perpetual danger of collapse, for no country would ever have enough dollars to fulfil its obligations to the United States. There would be a mad scramble for the scarce dollar, which would force every country to introduce rigid currency restrictions. In spite of these restrictions, there would be a tendency for the capital resources of the whole world to flow to New York.

During the years before 1939, we got around this problem by accepting gold instead of dollars for our goods. This policy made possible whatever precarious currency stabilisation was achieved in the 'thirties. But even if the war had not broken out, it would not have been possible to continue this policy much longer. For, by 1940, the United States had amassed almost all the monetary gold available on the globe; our customers were scraping the bottom of their gold barrels. If the war had not forced Britain and the Continental countries to impose rigid currency restrictions, the shortage of gold and dollars would have forced them pretty shortly into a financial war economy. And after this war none of the European countries who are our major customers could return to the pre-1939 policy, or would want to.

If we assume—and it is by all odds the most reasonable assumption—that this country will not increase its purchases abroad so much as to bring about a balance in its foreign trade, there are only two ways to solve the problem of the dollar. One is to cut down our exports—no American government could subscribe to such a policy. The other way out is not to demand immediate payment for the monies owed us against our exports, but, instead, to invest these sums in loans abroad. But this raises not only the question how we are ever to get repayment, but who should decide the purposes for which such loans are to be given and the terms—the American investor whose money it is, or the foreign borrower to whom we want to sell our export goods? So far, no answer acceptable to both sides has been found.

Like the problem of America's economic relations with the outside world, the problem of Great Britain and her currency—the second problem of international relations today—goes back to pre-war days. It first showed dramatically when the pound sterling was forced off gold in 1931. But the war has aggravated the situation so that today it is perhaps a worse headache than the scarcity of dollars.

Traditionally, England has been buying almost twice as much from the outside world as she sells to it. On this excess of imports over exports rests the comparatively high standard of living of the British people, crowded as they are in a small island without great agricultural and raw material resources. Normally it would be as impossible for a country to pay out twice as much as it receives, as it would be impossible for an individual to spend permanently twice as much as he earns. But England, up until this war, could eke out her current earnings with income from her inheritance. For, during the nineteenth century, half the world had become England's debtor; and it was on the interest from these investments overseas that the English people drew to make up the deficit in their international trade balance.

Even before 1939, this investment income had been shrinking; and just as an individual in such a position dips into his capital, England had been selling her overseas investments at a rapid rate. During the present war, these overseas investments have been sold out completely; moreover, England has run up a substantial debt owed to countries which, only five years ago, were in debt to England. Quite apart from the obligations of Lend-Lease themselves, England, formerly the world's creditor, now owes something like twelve billion dollars to her former debtors, especially to British India, the British Dominions and Argentina.

This sum, in itself, creates quite a problem of international economics. At present, it is 'frozen'; that is, the owners—British India, the Dominions and Argentina—can neither buy goods with it in England nor withdraw it. These twelve billion dollars which England owes all over the world—mostly for raw materials and food delivery during the present war—are likely to become a permanent loan, very much against the wishes of the owners who need the money for the purchase of industrial goods, especially American goods.

Much more important, however: England in the future will no longer have investment income with which to make good her deficit in the balance of trade. Therefore, the pound sterling will probably be as abundant in the world of tomorrow as the dollar will be scarce. Just as all nations will scramble to obtain dollars, so all nations will try to unload pounds sterling—with the same disastrous consequences for international currency stability.

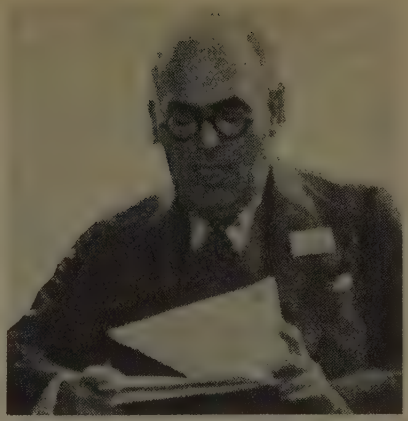
There are two ways out for England according to traditional economics. England can either give

up her standard of living and cut her imports to fit her exports, or she can maintain her standard of living by doubling her exports. The first way is not only likely to be highly unpopular in England; it is also certain to create severe unemployment and an economic crisis in countries which, like Argentina, Canada, Denmark, India and our own tobacco belt, have been largely dependent on English purchases. The second course, which undoubtedly will be the aim of all English economic policy in the next ten years or so, would avoid these disastrous consequences. It is, however, very difficult and it would precipitate intense trade competition, especially with the United States in Latin America.

Almost every country in the world is involved in these problems of dollars and pound sterling. Everywhere there is likely to be a surplus of English pounds and a shortage of dollars. For most countries England will be a major market which they cannot give up, even though they can't use the pounds the English pay for the purchases they want to make. America will be a major supplier without whose goods they could hardly function, even though they do not have dollars to pay us. Their currencies, therefore, will be under two-fold pressure—downward pressure from their relationship with the United States, and upward pressure arising out of their relationship with England—a situation in which neither economic nor currency stability would be possible, except under the most stringent currency restrictions.

These problems may not become acute immediately after the war when for some considerable time we may muddle through with a continuation of Lend-Lease, or with American gold loans to devastated countries to enable them to buy American goods. During that transition period, most countries will certainly continue their wartime currency restrictions. But the task ahead of us is precisely to find a way to terminate such a transition period, and to move over into a permanent international economic and financial system. This would require the solving of the twin problems of the dollar and the pound.

The Bretton Woods Conference was, of course, fully aware of these basic problems of international economic relations today. In fact, the first currency proposals published by the American and English treasuries a year and a half ago were expressly designed to solve the English —and to a lesser degree—the American problem. The scheme which Lord Keynes—England's most famous economist—worked out on behalf of the English Treasury bluntly suggested a kind



SIR A. JEREMY RAISMAN, *Member for Finance of the Government of India and Chairman of the Indian Delegation to Bretton Woods Conference*

of international pump-priming to give England enough purchasing power to buy the goods which she could not pay for with her own exports. It also proposed that the United States be forced to invest the sums owed to it by its customers in excess of American purchases in long-term loans abroad; and it demanded that these investments be under the control of the borrowers for the sake of international stability. The proposal of the United States Treasury—the so-called White Plan—carefully avoided any discussion of the American problem for obviously political reasons; but it made it very clear that, in the opinion of the American Treasury, the English should cut down their imports and their standard of living so as to make their suit fit the cloth. The charge that Lord Keynes proposed to solve England's problems at the expense of the United States is as unfair as to accuse the United States Treasury of a desire to make England pay for American prosperity. But it is certainly true that the first official proposals showed that the policies—and apparently also the interests—of the two leading countries were in fundamental contradiction far beyond the possibility of compromise.

Very quickly, therefore, both American and English experts agreed to give up any attempt to solve the central problems of international economic policy. Instead, they decided to confine themselves to discussing what should be done after these problems had somehow been solved. This was the agreement on which the Bretton Woods Conference was called; and the

rigid rule against discussing the really important issues was broken only once during the entire meeting, when the representative of British India—himself an Englishman—demanded that a way be found to convert the Indian deposits 'frozen' in London—equivalent to two billion dollars or so—into dollars to enable India to buy American goods. The indiscreet gentleman from New Delhi was promptly shushed down by all the other delegates. As a result, the agreement gives us a lot of techniques to be used once we have international monetary stability; but it does not tell us how to get it. If we want to be charitable, we may accept the more or less official excuse that the central problems of international economics are political and cannot be tackled by 'mere experts'; but hardly that makes the results of Bretton Woods any more valuable.

II

That Bretton Woods has failed to build the foundations for a revival of a free international economic system is bad enough. Much worse is, however, that this failure may strengthen the world-wide trend towards a controlled international system. The world can hardly wait until England and America have worked out their problems; it must have some system of trade and currency relations pretty soon. The only alternative—an alternative readily available—to the system of world trade and stable, free currencies, which Bretton Woods failed to establish, is a system of monopoly-trade and of manipulated currencies. Whereas the Bretton Woods Conference was supposed to re-establish unhampered and unrestricted trade between individual businesses, a system of permanent control would make international trade and international currency dealings a monopoly of governments, or of government-supervised international cartels. Countries would not buy in the cheapest market, but from the nation to which they could sell most of their own export products—the so-called 'bi-lateral' trade. Finally, such a system would not use the capital surpluses of wealthy nations for the development of new countries or for the rebuilding of devastated areas; instead of relying on foreign loans, countries in need of capital would create it at home by cutting down the consumption of their populations or by 'planned inflation'. Such a system could develop with the greatest of ease out of our present war-economy. It really is nothing but an adaptation of the economic controls of total war to peace-time purposes. It is the system that we are pretty certain to get if we do nothing, and especially if we do not succeed in working out a very much superior alternative.

A permanent international war-economy would be highly unpleasant to Great Britain for political reasons. But economically it might serve England's interests well enough—so well that the British Federation of Industries, as well as some of the British Labour Unions, are in its favour. Since England has no capital surplus to lend abroad, she is not much interested in a stoppage of international lending. Bi-lateral trade under which you buy only from your customer would suit England fine; if her suppliers were only willing to buy from England as much as they could sell her, the English trade-deficit would disappear automatically.

For the United States, however, general adoption of this kind of controlled international economy would be a very severe blow, both economically and politically. If international trade should all become bi-lateral, our export-surpluses would soon disappear, and the shrinkage would be particularly severe in our agricultural exports: cotton, tobacco, fruit, the producers of which are most dependent upon foreign markets. Instead of being the leader in international economics, we might well find ourselves caught in a squeeze-play, designed to prevent our strength from becoming effective. For in an international war-economy, all the advantage is with the buyer and the borrower; the owner of surpluses of goods and of capital—and the United States is the only country with a surplus of both—finds himself isolated and more or less at the mercy of his customers. Moreover, we might have to copy the controls in our own organisation of trade. The adoption of foreign trade, government-sponsored or government-subsidised cartels, foreign exchange controls and of all the other trappings of a permanently controlled international economy could hardly fail to have a severe impact on our domestic economic system and its structure. Finally, this country has always maintained that a controlled world-economy can only lead to general impoverishment, extreme nationalism, and finally to war. It is thus no accident that support of a free world economy has been the one major issue in American politics which is truly non-partisan, and on which Hoover and Roosevelt, Republican and Democrat agree.

Should the world adopt a controlled international economic system, leadership would logically fall to the Soviet Union; at least, Russia would be the model for such a development, just as the American economy would be the model for all countries adhering to a free system of

international economics. For Russia was the first country to develop the techniques of international economic control, foreign trade monopoly, 'directed' foreign trade and foreign-exchange monopoly. Above all, she was the first country to finance a large-scale industrialisation and development programme not through foreign loans but through 'capital-creation' at home. Her industrial and military success has shown every nation what can be done with these policies. At the same time, the experience of the war has shown that a country can use these techniques without going Communist—which explains the acceptance of these policies by industrialists, labour unions and political parties all the world over.

It is this focal position of Russia as the model of a controlled economy that makes so important Russia's about-face during the Bretton Woods Conference and her sudden willingness to re-join an international economy based on international trade and international lending. Of course, the Soviet Union will not abandon her foreign trade monopoly nor the complete government-control of all banking, internal and international. But Russia promised to modify the one policy which is most opposed to a free international economy: her self-sufficiency in the provision of capital for her industrialisation programme. From now on, according to the Russian delegates at Bretton Woods, the Soviet Union will buy and borrow capital-equipment from other countries—notably the United States—rather than rely exclusively on her own resources. If the Bretton Woods agreement becomes effective so that there is a world-bank, Russia expects to become its largest customer; and consequently the most important and most time-consuming subject at the Conference was the terms under which Russia would borrow fron the Bank. But if the Bretton Woods agreement should fall through, Russia will buy and borrow directly from the United States. In order to be admitted to the international capital-market, Russia even agreed to lift the absolute censorship on economic and financial data which she has maintained for over ten years, and to make available her own figures to the world-bank. It was apparently not an easy decision for Stalin to make. In fact, the Conference has to be kept going for several days beyond its scheduled adjournment date to enable the Russian delegation to get Moscow's agreement to this abandonment of Russia's military security, the policy of secrecy which has hitherto been considered indispensable. Nothing perhaps better illustrates the importance of the new policy for Russia herself than this decision

ERIC JOHNSTON, *President U.S. Chamber of Commerce, arriving back from Russia*

to subordinate military security to international economic collaboration.

It is pretty certain that Russia's turn-about was not motivated by economic considerations. Also Russia's future purchases from this country in all probability will fail to rise to the Utopian heights envisaged by such observers as Mr. Eric Johnston of the United States Chamber of Commerce; however substantial they may be, they will hardly be of major importance to American business. But politically Russia's decision may be very important indeed, for it may put the moral and political prestige of the Soviet Union with its record of a successful government-controlled economy behind America's drive for a free international economic system.

Russia's action does not ensure the defeat of the world-trend towards a controlled international economy: this trend will continue unless the hurdles in the way of a free economy are cleared. The Russian action is not a very great concession on Stalin's part; after all, he does not stand to lose or to gain much whatever course he takes, whereas the matter is of real importance to his American Ally. But it is the first example of political teamwork between this country and Russia on any major post-war issue. It may have given us another chance to do the job of rebuilding a free international economy which we failed to do at Bretton Woods.

RIBBENTROP'S CHAMPAGNE WAS EXCELLENT!—

AND HIS DIPLOMACY WAS CLEVER

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, M.P.

AFTER the Prime Minister's speech in the debate on the prolongation of Parliament, Members of all parties are getting ready for the General Election which is so long overdue.

After the last war a lot was heard about 'War Guilt'; a lot more will be heard this time, only in a different form as each party disclaims responsibility for this war. Labour spokesmen are already busy trying to explain to the public that their voting against service estimates in pre-war days was merely a Parliamentary method of condemning Government policy. Admittedly House of Commons procedure is very puzzling, but the man-in-the-street will find this doubly hard to understand. To him it would seem as if the Labour Party had said to the Government: 'We don't like your policy; in fact, we think it will lead to war. However, we don't propose to vote for re-armament. You may get us into a war, but we don't want you to have the satisfaction of getting us out.' He would really have been much more convinced if during the debate on, say, the Air Estimates, the Labour spokesmen had said: 'You promise us 30 new squadrons. For heaven's sake make it 100, as you are heading straight for war. Meanwhile as we disapprove of your foreign policy, we shall move to reduce the salary of the Foreign Secretary. We shall put down votes of censure and of no confidence, but never shall we vote against re-armament, as this is the only protection from your mistakes.'

However, it does not really matter what Labour says in its defence. The Labour Party is not in the dock. It is the Conservative Party which had a majority in practically all the inter-war years, and it is up to them to clear themselves of the onus of war guilt. There are some who would forget the past. 'What is the use of a post-mortem,' they ask, 'when all have a share in the blame?' This attitude will not do. We owe it to the memory of those who have fallen to find out why they were called upon to make the supreme sacrifice; again we owe it to the future generations to save them from a repetition of such untoward events. The nation, not merely the historian, demands a full inquiry.

In the search for those responsible for this war, it appears that little tribute so far has been paid to German diplomacy. It must now be admitted that Germany had been steadily preparing for war for many years and that by 1939 she had skilfully manœuvred herself into a commanding position. Was it, therefore, a coincidence, or merely the ineptitude of the British Government, that Munich marked a triumph for German diplomacy while for Britain it represented the greatest humiliation since the Dutch sailed up the Medway in the seventeenth century? Prior to the last war it was customary to sneer at Germany's bungling diplomats, but is it not possible that Nazi diplomacy was very much more subtle than anyone in England realised?

Lord Vansittart in his frequent writings always refers to Ribbentrop as a stupid man—indeed a bonehead. Most critics contemptuously dismiss him as a wine seller, though surely there is nothing derogatory in this honourable profession? At one time he used to sell an excellent brand of champagne and, what is not so well known, he was himself an excellent judge of claret: this is an all too rare virtue. Now is there any valid reason why a traveller in wine with a marked facility for languages should not become as well acquainted with the habits and views of foreign peoples as, say, a professional British diplomat complete with eyeglass and Foreign Office manner? Ribbentrop was in charge of Foreign Affairs in the years before the war. It is probable that he applied to diplomacy the principles he learnt as a commercial traveller. He was certainly highly successful in that capacity; I submit that he was no less successful as a diplomat.

Assuming that Germany's aim was world supremacy by peaceful persuasion or, failing that, by war, her Foreign Advisers were faced with two main tasks: first, to sow discord among any potential enemies; second, to avert the danger of war on two fronts. As regards the first, Germany made a brilliant start in the Anglo-German Naval Treaty. This Treaty was negotiated without consultation with the French who, not unnaturally, were deeply offended; furthermore, they were seriously alarmed. Their security depended in no small measure on the British Fleet and by the terms of the Treaty our strategic position was weakened. As an island race our two main

dangers are—or since V weapons were—the aeroplane and the submarine. Yet we gave our one potential enemy a free hand to build more or less as many of the latter as he wanted. It is true that we agreed to a fixed ratio in regard to capital ships, but as the Germans never had a chance of overtaking us if it came to a race, this agreement was valueless. Ribbentrop was responsible for this Treaty. He had at one stroke weakened our naval supremacy and caused our ally France to regard us with suspicion. As his master was busy preparing for war, this was no mean achievement on the part of a 'stupid wine seller'.

As regards the second aim, the position was that France was closely linked to Britain and she also had an understanding with the Soviet Union. Nazi policy was to drive a wedge between the Russia of Stalin and the two Western democracies. This was not insuperable. The fatal weakness of Conservative foreign policy in the inter-war years was that its supporters were so obsessed with the fear of Bolshevism that they failed to grasp that the real enemy of liberty was Fascism. The object of the Nazis was to keep this fear alive; France was too dependent on Britain to break away. In 1931 there were Conservatives who approved of Japanese aggression in Manchuria. China, they thought, was going Communist under Soviet influence, and for a nation of 400 millions to go Red was an incalculable menace. Japan was striking a blow for orthodoxy in the Far East. In the Abyssinian *débâcle* we now realise that a touch of the policy of Lord Palmerston would have called the Duce's bluff and brought the braggart to his knees. Arthur Henderson would have taken a strong line; so I believe would Anthony Eden had he had his way, but the Conservatives would persist in regarding Mussolini first and foremost as the Anti-Communist champion and only secondarily as a Fascist aggressor. Again, in the Spanish War, Conservatives remembered that Lenin had once said that Spain would provide the starting point for the World Revolution. 'Surely,' they cried, 'General Franco, the great Christian General, is saving us from this very thing.' So blind were they that they could not see that our Ally, France, was already menaced on the North-East by Fascist Germany, on the East by Fascist Italy, and that a Franco victory would complete the Fascist encirclement.

Ribbentrop knew very well that the best method of rallying Conservative opinion was to raise the cry of the Bolshevik menace. He had heard of the famous Zinovieff letter episode in which almost overnight a wave of indignation, not unmixed with fear, at the Red machinations swept the country. He decided that this was the line to pursue. He made no attempt at conversion; on the contrary, he preached to the true blue Tories and his theme never varied. Russia, he said, was ruled by a clique of international anarchists and Jews whose sole object was the world revolution. The Führer, being nearer to this menace, could not treat it with the complacency of the British; he was, in fact, the sole obstacle to its spreading westwards. He knew how susceptible youth was to subversive tendencies. He had, therefore, formed his Hitler Youth, a body analogous to our Boy Scouts, but bound by stricter rules of discipline. As a consequence, Communist propaganda had failed significantly among young Germans. Again it was among the unfortunate unemployed that the Communists used their most persuasive arguments. Their misfortunes provided a fertile breeding-ground for revolution. The Führer, unlike the democracies, had conquered unemployment. What if Germany were re-arming? Surely Britain realised that, if persuasive methods failed, Stalin would resort to force and that he had the largest Army and the greatest Air Force in the world.

Ribbentrop's policy was very simple: it relied for its force on its constant reiteration until even lukewarm Tories began to feel that there was some good in the Nazis and that their hands would be so full dealing with the U.S.S.R. that they never could become a danger to the well-being of Britain. It may, of course, be argued that Ribbentrop only preached to a limited coterie in the West End of London and that he only succeeded in convincing those who were as stupid as he was himself. Such a line of argument completely ignores the fact that Conservative policies are born in the drawing-rooms of Mayfair—here, indeed, was the stronghold of General Franco's supporters. What is said in Mayfair today is repeated in constituencies tomorrow. Be that as it may, this is merely a private opinion that Ribbentrop was a far astuter man than the Foreign Office gave him credit for. The fact, however, remains that Nazi diplomacy paved the easy way to Munich where a wedge was driven between Great Britain and France and the Soviet Union. Not only was a wedge driven, but a mortal insult was given to Russia who was thus ignominiously debarred from the Councils of Europe. The road was now clear for war. How close to victory the Nazis came we now know to our cost. Fortunately for us, the same success did not attend their arms as their diplomacy. Had the victory been theirs, then there can be no doubt that history would have acclaimed Ribbentrop as a truly great Foreign Minister.

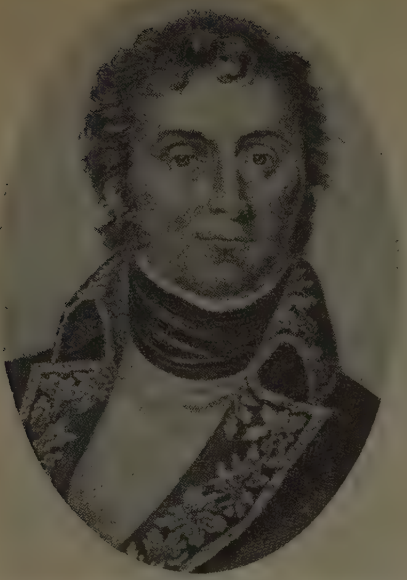
WHAT IS MILITARY GENIUS?

BRIAN TUNSTALL, author of *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; World War at Sea,* etc.

WHEN we speak of military genius, we mean genius expressing itself in terms of military command. The existence of genius, so far as we can tell, is the result of a rare combination of parental chromosomes. Genius is thus an accident of birth, in the sense that the probability of such a combination being formed is very rare indeed. In suggesting, however, that the existence of genius is determined by genetic factors, there is no need to accept the wider and more controversial theory that genius is dependent on hereditary factors exerting an influence over several generations.

The reason for stressing the biological side of the question is that whereas environment, as apart from birth, is the necessary means of bringing military genius to fruition, no degree of environment can draw out potential military genius which does not already exist. We can hardly imagine (though we might, of course, be wrong) that Purcell, Constable, Keats or Swinburne, men of rare genius in the creative arts, could ever have become great military leaders, however vigorously they might have been trained for the purpose. On the other hand, there seems nothing inherently absurd in the idea of military forces brilliantly led by Chatham, Cobbett, or Mr. Winston Churchill, quite apart from the fact that all three of them had early experience as professional soldiers. Indeed it is remarkable how military capacity of a very high order appears quite suddenly in unlikely places, given a special opportunity, as in the cases of Cromwell, Clive, and T. E. Lawrence. Each of these three men displayed the characteristics of genius in fields other than that of war, and each of them was given a war opportunity of a special kind. Cromwell lived in the days when military technique was a comparatively simple affair, and when any country squire of real determination and organising ability could quickly learn how to lead a company of foot or a squadron of horse. Cromwell also started his military career in the days when England had no regular army, and when country squires were themselves potential military leaders. Clive succeeded, although at Plassey he knew little of soldiering or of the East, because at that particular moment he alone was prepared to take responsibility for risking that tiny white force which so astonishingly compassed the defeat of many thousands. Lawrence succeeded because he thoroughly understood the East and all the factors with Eastern forces. These three examples seem to prove not merely that military genius means genius of a special kind, but that environment is the deciding fact in bringing such genius to light. In other words, military genius means a special kind of genius, determined by genetic influence being developed by a special kind of environment. This does not mean that you have only to put a potential military genius in the army and he is bound to come to the top. This is the familiar and outworn argument of those who favour so-called equality of opportunity, on the grounds that you cannot keep a good man down. The fact that practically all Napoleon's Marshals were pre-Revolution professional soldiers and so were all the leading commanders on both sides in the American Civil War, shows how difficult it is for military talent, let alone genius, to obtain recognition even in armies based on a nation-wide intake. Surely in all the new armies of France which Napoleon and his Revolution predecessors raised, there must have been some potentially useful leaders, and the same in the armies of the Confederates and Federals, yet they never appeared on the surface. Why? Because even by Napoleon's time the technique of war had become so complex that only by early professional training plus early professional experience could a man hope to reach high command. This must always be so in modern times where large armies are engaged in formal as opposed to guerrilla or irregular warfare. Lawrence found his opportunity outside the ranks of the British Army. Wingate, on the other hand, who has been compared with him, was a professional soldier, even though he made a reputation for himself by the use of irregular forces under environmental conditions favouring his special kind of military genius.

When we speak of the environment favourable to military leadership, we really mean two things: the environment of professional soldiering, and the environment of war. One of these environments is constant and covers the whole professional career of the man concerned. The other —war—is the special environment without which the first one provides only an unreal testing ground. Here we strike a sharp difference between military genius and genius in politics



MASSÉNA, 1758–1817, *greatest of Napoleon's Marshals. Son of small wine merchant, said to be of Jewish descent. Was an under-officer in the old Royal Army*

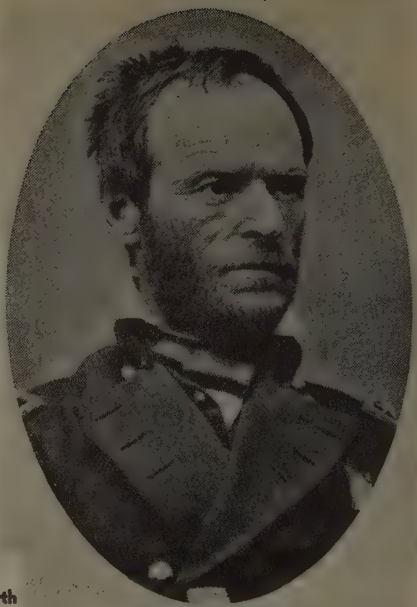
PONIATOWSKI, 1762–1813, *the Polish Prince who became a Marshal of Napoleon. The Poles supported Napoleon, hoping to regain independence*

or in the creative arts. The apprenticeship served by a statesman before he holds high office may be long and difficult, but even so it is likely to be less rigid than the professionalism of a highly organised, modern fighting service. It is an apprenticeship, moreover, mingled with constant practice in the actual business of statesmanship, since right from the start the future statesman of genius is a close observer, and even a minor participant, in real political battles. The great advantage of the statesman over the soldier is that he is always in action, even when out of office, even when out of Parliament, and even when in exile. He can make his views felt by writing even when he cannot address crowds or political assemblies. Not so the soldier or the sailor.

As for the painter, the poet, the sculptor, the musical composer, and the playwright—they are free to pursue their art either in company with others, or alone, just as they may wish. Nor, except in the case of the composer and the playwright, do they need executants as a means of interpreting their art to the public. Even a play can at least be read, provided a publisher can be persuaded to publish it. Nor is the professional training necessary for the practice of these arts in any way comparable either in length or rigidity with that undergone by the future commander in the military academies and in early services in junior ranks. It is altogether freer, more elastic as regards place and time, and subject to a far greater range of choice. As in the case of the statesman, moreover, the creative artist can produce as and when he pleases. He does not have to wait until he can hold an official position in the art world before he can distinguish himself. There is nothing to prevent the creative artist from being recognised as a genius at an early age, and by means of work which sets established modes at defiance.

The lot of the potential military genius is very different. However brilliant he may be, he must needs go through a period, often a long one, of gradually lessening subordination, before he can attain high rank. Nor is it possible to grasp the principles of sea, land or air warfare without a good deal of subordinate experience, since the knowledge required for high command is of a kind only obtainable by practical experience in lower ranks and small formations. Promotion, therefore, is the first step towards the fruition of

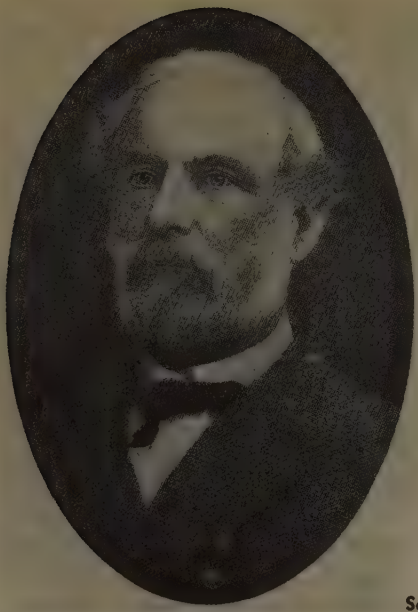
WINFIELD SCOTT, 1786–1866, *commanding general of U.S. Army for 20 years including beginning of Civil War. Captain of artillery, 1808. Taken prisoner by British in War of 1812. Greatest achievement was Mexican Campaign of 1847*



W. T. SHERMAN, 1820–1891, *who marched into Georgia*

North

military genius. This means not only satisfying a number of more senior officers as to his fitness for promotion, but also restraining such elements of originality in his character as might weigh against his promotion in their eyes. Even assuming that his seniors are vigorous, go-ahead men, there must always be an element of conservatism in any large military organisation. So the military genius has to go right through the conventionalising and weeding-out process to which all officers are more or less subjected in their early military career before he can safely begin to give full rein to his individuality. Promotion, however, is only a means to an end. The general, in order to be successful in war, must be given a command, and not just any command, but a command giving scope for active operations. This applies equally, if not more so, to command at sea where powerful fleets under brilliant leaders may, through force of circumstances alone, remain semi-inactive for months and years together, even during the most critical phases of a naval war. Quite apart from all this, there is the element of luck that enables the fighting genius to hold a fighting command in any war at all. What, for instance, would have become of Nelson, if he had happened to be born between 1790 and 1850? Whatever else he might have done, it is certain that he could never have been recognised as a genius in naval leadership. Even so, it was only by a combination of outstanding ability and sheer good luck that he managed to reach post rank at the early age of twenty. This ensured that, when he received his flag (promotion from captain to rear-admiral being then by seniority alone), he should still be in full vigour of body and mind. In the British Army, commissions, both on first appointment and subsequent promotion, were a matter of purchase and patronage till 1870. This enabled Marlborough to become a Colonel of Foot at the age of twenty-eight, and Wellington and Wolfe to be lieutenant-colonels at the ages of twenty-four and twenty-three respectively. The system, though grossly unfair, and from a modern standpoint also inefficient, had the merit of occasionally bringing supreme ability to the top at an early moment, especially at a time when men aged more quickly than today. Early entry, however, often had a compensatory disadvantage.



South

ROBERT E. LEE, 1807–1870, *Commander-in-Chief*

'STONEWALL' JACKSON, 1824–1863, *whose methods have been studied down to recent times*

Wolfe, who received his first commission (in the Marines) at the age of fourteen, was a veteran of several campaigns when he undertook the command of the land forces in the operations against Quebec. Nevertheless, early hardships had so undermined his physique, never strong even as a child, that it is doubtful if he would ever have survived a winter's campaign in Canada. The French bullet on the Heights of Abraham did no more than put an end to the life of a dying consumptive. This fact alone is sufficient to remind us that the 'rigours of the service', plus the heavy responsibilities of command, have done more both in the past and present to rob commanders of the physical and mental robustness necessary for success than all the bullets, bombs, and shells of the enemy. This is particularly true of fighting at sea where senior officers often share the physical hardships of their men to a greater extent than their opposite numbers on land. Nor are there the same opportunities for mental relaxation as are generally found on land. How often did Lord St. Vincent lament the failure of nerve and purpose in admirals renowned for bravery and quick decisions when young, yet unable to face the strain of commands such as that of the inshore squadron of the fleet blockading Brest in winter?

It is noteworthy that Lord Wavell, one of the ablest and most successful soldiers of the age, in his famous Cambridge Lectures on *Generals and Generalship* should place 'the quality of robustness above every other qualification for success'. This he was careful to define as mental robustness as well as physical. Indeed, it was only by strength of will that Wolfe was able to triumph both over the enemy and ill-health. Here we encounter a quality characteristic of many types of genius operating in many different fields. In military leadership it takes the form of being able to stand up to the strain of constantly staking men's lives on big issues. This strain is particularly hard to bear when things are going badly or when the commander is himself subject to severe physical hardships due to ground and weather. With this robustness, as Lord Wavell points out, must also go the will to win plus 'a spirit of adventure', later defined as boldness. 'A bold general may be lucky but no general can be lucky unless he is bold.' All men of real genius in war have possessed this unbeatable resolution, plus a high degree of initiative in addition to robustness, which by itself may tend towards phlegmatic inertia. Wellington's decision to fight at Waterloo is an example of unbeatable resolve,

just as Clive's decision to fight at Plassey is an example of luck attendant on boldness. All these attributes of military genius, robustness, the will to win, and boldness are what might be termed pyschic qualities. They are inborn and no man can be a military genius without them, however perfect his training. Yet by themselves they are no more than the raw material out of which military genius is made. With them must also go professional skill, the product not of birth alone, but of military environment acting on inborn capacity. This skill means far more than super-ordinary ability in handling troops in the immediate presence of the enemy. It means a profound knowledge of military strategy, including military organisation, military movement, military topography, and military supply. The military genius visualises his operations as a whole. He sees how best to organise the forces at his disposal in relation to their training, equipment, fighting spirit, and tactical balance of their various arms, and also in relation to the forces of the enemy. He considers the ground to be fought over, the question of dry and wet seasons, the nature and length of his supply routes, possibly covering more than a thousand miles of land, air, and ocean. He considers how his supply needs and supply routes will increase or decrease as he moves and fights, and what reinforcements he can count on and when they will arrive. Wherever he is on the move, as opposed to fighting in one place, he has to plan the orderly and synchronised movement of his troops in such a way that all the various tactical elements come in their right order, whether in advance or retreat, and that congestion and irregularity of movement are avoided. In addition to all these pre-occupations, many of them rendered difficult by the unforeseen action on the part of the enemy, the weather, allies, neutrals, or the home government, the military genius must be a superlative director of tactical operations in the field. It is all very well to say that no one man can do all these things, that in the past things were simpler, and that today the main business is done by the staff. None of these suppositions is wholly true. Today, as in the past, it is the Commander-in-Chief who must make the main decisions and accept responsibility for them. In the past the comparative simplicity of military organisation was offset by the immense difficulties of communication and forward reconnaissance, lack of aircraft, wireless and motor despatch riders. When Jeffrey Amherst carried out his great campaign which ended in the capture of Montreal and the conquest of Canada, he achieved something as great in terms of long-range military movement as anything done in the present war. Today, on the other hand, the very complexity of the operations and the multiplication of tactical elements make it more than ever necessary that the Commander-in-Chief should be able to weld his forces into an instrument devoted to a single purpose. Of course there have been cases where the Commander-in-Chief has allowed himself to become the instrument of a stronger and an abler Chief-of-Staff, as in the case of the famous Hindenburg-Ludendorff combination. This, however, merely proves that, to achieve outstanding military successes in modern war, some degree of military genius must exist sufficiently high enough up in the command to make itself felt.

What, then, distinguishes the military genius from the military commander who is merely able or very highly talented? An examination of the so-called master plans of generals such as Turenne, Marlborough, Saxe, Napoleon, Wellington, Moltke, Foch, Allenby, Alexander, and Montgomery shows that they have attempted little in the way of tremendous innovations in strategy, tactics, arms or 'devices'. Generally speaking, they have been content to do the best with the means at their disposal, working to a large extent on orthodox lines, simply because they have been too pressed for time and by the enemy to do otherwise. Where, then, has lain their genius? Why have they succeeded where others have failed? Surely it has been in their capacity to size up more quickly than their opponents the various possibilities in a given situation, and having chosen a certain course, to pursue it with undivided and tremendous energy. In doing so, they have had to take into account all the elements of time, place, and forces, and build as it were a picture of victory out of innumerable pieces of diverse strategical mosaics. This kind of capacity comes very near to that shown by men of genius in statesmanship or in any executive capacity. But does it not also come very near to the definition of genius in terms of the creative art of painting, namely that of relating the parts to the whole? Does it not also come very near to the powers of musical technique required to write a great symphony or the constructional powers required to plan a building such as St. Paul's or carve a statue such as that of Colleoni the *condottiere?* In all these expressions of creative art it is not merely the particular forms or curves or melodies which betoken the masterpiece, but the relation of the elements to each other and their combined effect.

A FEDERATED GERMANY?

W. E. HART

THE degree to which the German Reich has been able to make its power felt in European and world politics has depended on the centralisation of all internal governing power. The more completely such a government was able to efface the real federal character of the Reich, the greater and more aggressive was Germany's impact upon other nations.

The 'Holy Roman Empire' ceased to exist in 1806, when the 'Emperor of Austria' formally accepted a situation that had existed for long in practice: he limited himself to the furtherance of the Hapsburgian Dynasty and the enlargement of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Federal German Empire had received such a fatal blow by the Napoleonic victories that the individual states within the Reich could, and did, assume independent standing in relation to other European non-German states.

From 1806 until 1870–71 the German Reich did not exist as an international power, so that its energy was distributed at home, greatly to the enrichment of the national genius, and to a fruitful tranquillity beyond Germany's frontiers. But the individual states of the German Reich gathered again, especially under the instigation of fast-growing Prussia and the ambitious Bismarck. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, a central organisation for all German states did not exist, but the Prussian Junker-Diplomat managed in practice to produce an alliance of German states which, under the strong hand of Prussia, was almost as powerful as the former German Reich. This temporary alliance served well enough for the Prussian Prime Minister to assume the office of head of all the German states' administration *de facto*, though the personal sway he assumed did not exist *de jure*. Yet Bismarck was cautious and far-sighted. Therefore, as long as there was any possibility of Austria's resuming the leadership within the German Reich, he remained the strongest 'particularist', for he would not accept a second place for Prussia. When Austria was finally out of the running as the leader of any future Reich, the same Bismarck became the strongest advocate of a German Reich with a strong central government, knowing that such a central government would invariably be recruited chiefly from Prussia, which must in time spread its tentacles over the whole of Germany.

Bismarck did not succeed entirely, as the Constitution of the German Empire of 1871 shows. He threw Austria out of the Reich by the calculated and carefully-timed war of 1866. By persuasion, by threat and even by bribes (in the case of Bavaria) he contrived that the independent German states should join Prussia in her war against France but when, after the proclamation of a new, Prussian-led German Empire he wished to convert the wartime alliance into a permanent Reich, the individual German states, with their princes as their mouthpieces, expressed their strong disinclination to surrender all their rights to the King of Prussia as German Emperor.

Important concessions had to be made. The most important was the formation of the *Bundesrat* (Federal Council) upon which the states were represented. The Imperial Government had to deal with two factors: (1) The *Reichstag* (German Parliament) elected by the German People, and (2) The *Bundesrat*, consisting of representatives of the German *states*.

During the Bismarckian and Wilhelminian period before 1914 the power of this *Bundesrat* was considerable, though it came less into public view than the *Reichstag*. The members of the *Bundesrat*, delegates appointed by the state governments without consulting the people of the state by election, could refuse the passage of bills suggested to the *Reichstag* by the Imperial Government, and the *Reichstag* could only override the veto of the *Bundesrat* by a clear two-thirds majority. This was a power which was not even invested in the Kaiser, who was forced to give his signature to any law that had been passed by the parliamentary institutions of the Reich.

Through twelve departments the *Bundesrat* took an active interest in all the affairs of the Reich—defence force budget department, tariff and taxes department, foreign affairs, constitutional questions, post-telegraph and railway department, etc. The *Bundesrat* consisted of 66 members, representing the German states in proportion to size and population. Prussia sent over one third of these members, but a combination of members from all other states could easily out-vote Prussia.

The *Bundesrat*, in fact, became by far the greatest delaying power within the Reich administration, and its conservative attitude

prevented much which the extreme application of Bismarck's power-policy would have liked to see mature in a more drastic way. It was, indeed, the closest copy of the British House of Lords that has ever existed in Germany, and had the states of Germany pressed for a bigger share in legislation for this Council, it is more than likely that the well-known course of pre-1914 events might have been directed into less aggressive waters. The liberal and social-democratic opposition parties within the *Reichstag* saw with satisfaction that the *Bundesrat* had sometimes more influence upon the Imperial Government than they were always able to exercise themselves; and not only Socialists but Liberals were inclined to demand a strengthening of the power of the *Bundesrat,* in order to produce a more powerful brake upon the policies of the Imperial Government (especially when the Civil Cabinets of Wilhelm II seemed to be following a rather rash and zig-zag policy in foreign affairs).

This desire to strengthen the influence of the states in the affairs of the Reich found, of course, even stronger expression in the individual Parliaments of the states, where completely independent state Cabinets administered their own affairs, and ceded to the Central German Reich Government only such rights as were barely necessary to maintain its controlling influence. State Governments controlled a large part of the financial administration and the Reich Finance Minister regulated little taxation besides Customs. Education was almost completely controlled by the states. Further, in Bavaria a separate army was retained, with an independent General Staff, and while its state troops wore light blue trousers as distinct from the black of the Prussian-Reich's Army, it was felt that Bavaria was Bavaria.

The acceptance of the Weimar Constitution in 1919, to replace the Imperial (1871) Constitution, provided a further strengthening of the Central Reich Government against the delaying and controlling power of the states—a strange, and at first sight an incomprehensible, divergence from the pre-1918 attitude of the parties that were instrumental in building the new Constitution—the Social Democrats and the Liberals. These parties had always welcomed the strengthening of any constitutional means that would curtail the activities of the Imperial Reich Government, as long as that government was formed by elements which were either Conservative or ultra-Nationalist. But the form in which the left wing and liberal parties now allowed the new Republican Constitution to develop proved that their past fight to control the central government via the *Bundesrat* was one based on party ambition, and not on ideals of liberalism. Concentrated power in one governmental instrument must encourage a 'strong' foreign policy, because the stronger hand of the German Reich Cabinet at home, the more powerful could be its language *vis-à-vis* other nations. If the parties foresaw this, they did not wish to prevent it. After 1919 the former opposition parties felt assured that for a considerable time to come they would conduct the internal and external policies of the Reich, and they had lost all interest in weakening an institution which would now rest in their hands. In fact, their selfish attitude developed into a further strengthening of the Central Cabinet power against that of the individual states. The very Socialists who had found a source of comfort in the fact that state particularism (or what was left of it after 1871) could stop, or at least delay, the power-policies of the Wilhelminian-Pan Germanistic cliques, now fought hard to bring into line with the Reich's new direction the rather slow-moving machinery of the states. The German Socialists of 1919 thus adopted exactly the same course of policy which Bismarck had chosen, namely, by particularism to win power, and then to turn that power against the very means by which it had been won, or to kick away the ladder upon which they had ridden.

For example, the power invested in the President of the Republic was much stronger than that which any Kaiser could exercise according to the 1871 Constitution. Paragraph 48 of the Weimar Constitution gave the President, and thus the Reich Cabinet, almost dictatorial power. It may serve as an excuse to say that, at the time of the forming of the Constitution, none of the makers could foresee that this paragraph would be abused in the way in which a Reichschancellor, Adolf Hitler, has abused it. It may also be said that the Democratic and Social Democratic Powers within the Republic were anxious to uproot any of those demagogic and ultra-monarchistic roots which long monarchial reign in the states had left. But any attempted extenuation on these grounds ignores the essence of what a constitutional government ought to be: that is, a government administered within the limits of law, not with the arbitrary decisions of dictators, whether they appear in the shape of majority parties or brown-shirted 'Führers'.

Too late the Democratic and Socialist elements recognised their mistake. They were then unable to prevent Herr von Papen turning the entire Constitution of the Reich into the reverse of a republic by arresting the legitimate government

Dresden, capital until 1919 of the Kingdom of Saxony, and afterwards of the Republic of Saxony, until Hitler abolished the 'states'. Its destruction is an international tragedy, despite cheap newspaper gloatings

Weimar, capital until 1919 of Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar. Gave its name to Constitution of 1919. After this date capital of amalgamated Thuringian states

of Prussia. They recognised the brake upon irresponsible central government only after it had ceased to act, and so they were unable to save the Republic from being played into the hands of political adventurers. By that time, as history proves, it was five minutes past twelve.

In the outside world there was little interest in these internal questions of German Constitutional Government, because it was comfortably assumed that, however strong or weak the central power within the German Reich might be, it hardly commanded the resources to bring trouble into the world of its victors. Besides, the victors were too much engrossed with their own differences at the conference table at Geneva to notice how their short-lived triumph was being undone. Germany was nominally a state that could bring to bear some 100,000 armed men, a negligible fleet and no aircraft. None of the former allies of 1918 knew how soon secret German re-armament began, and how rapidly it progressed even with General Staff organisation and army recruiting schemes. Had they known, there might have been a different attitude in certain world capitals towards the question of how much power the German Reich Cabinet should wield against the various state governments. The carefree attitude of the former allies was based on the assumption that, because the Treaty of Versailles had been signed, its clauses were both law and fact. Ostensibly the German Government accepted the treaty conditions. In practice it did little more than maintain an appearance of treaty legality.

A Cabinet of the Reich, controlled to a much larger extent by either a copy of the former *Bundesrat* or a better edition of the Republican *Reichsrat* (the constitutional instrument by which the states could voice their opinion in the Republic—though without any chance of influencing Reich affairs as the former *Bundesrat* had done) could never have presented the world at large with such surprising announcements as Hitler used to produce almost every other Sunday from 1935 until the outbreak of this war. Hitler, more than any other head of the German Chancellory, realised that he could never embark on his extreme policy of personal power if the German states had any power left. He therefore made the most radical changes, with the object of concentrating *all* power in the Central Government. The Co-ordination Laws (*Gleichschaltung*) issued from 1933 to 1935 effectively abolished the existence of any German state, and the rôle of the *Reichsrat* became a farce. Hitler appointed *Reichstathalter* (Lieutenants of the Reich Government), who were responsible to the Reich Minister of the Interior. The states had sunk to such a low level that the Reich Cabinet left their affairs to a single member of their Cabinet. State governments became mere administrative bodies within the framework of the Reich without any political significance. For the most powerful state of Germany (Prussia) most Reich Ministers combined their offices with the corresponding offices of that state. Thus the Finance Minister was Reich and also Prussian Minister of Finance. The Ministries of Education, Art, Economics and others were also combined in the same way.

The military and economic potential which the Reich as a whole could produce was invested in one central body, which could use it without control or criticism from any other constitutional institution from within Germany. Any suggestion that the drastic means by which the Reich Government eliminated the influence of the states were unwise and left too much for irresponsible action in other fields than internal ones was answered by the Nazi Party with the accusation that the advice came from a potential traitor to the German nation, if not by the slander that the critic was in the pay of foreign powers bent on the destruction of the Reich. Hitler never wanted any checks and balance from among representatives of the German people. Any steadying influence on his own policies from within Germany via legitimate channels would have curtailed his preparations for this war—upon which he was bent from the very beginning of his career as Chancellor of the German Reich Government.

What lesson can be learned from this development which has so largely contributed to the present state of Europe, and the entire world?

First of all, the argument arises whether the present organisation of the Reich should be permitted to remain after the war. This is an issue that cannot be dealt with in this article. It belongs to the sphere of 'balance of power on the European Continent'. For example, if a number of European states are to share in a divided German Reich, is their national vitality powerful enough to absorb or even to resist the German element? It is conceivable that the German element, with the support of neighbouring German communities and secret organisations, would undermine the new state administration to such an extent that German control in Central Europe would re-appear. We have to guard against a Trojan-horse trick on a European scale.

But, assuming that the organisation of a German Reich should be permitted to exist as a necessary political expedient, it should be the

Few people realise what a fine town is Karlsruhe, former capital of Grand Duchy of Baden. This is the palace of the Grand Dukes

care of the United Nations to ensure the safe distribution of administrative power. It would be delusive to rely upon the immediate lack of power which might seemingly make that Reich harmless. The watchful United Nations should take into account the enormous potential which Germany must always possess by its geographical situation, as a Central European state through which vital communications are bound to run. The natural resources of the country would increase its danger to its neighbours and the world to the extent to which the central power was permitted to bring them into play in international politics. If one assumes that AMGOT can be a permanent institution within Germany, then these problems do not arise, but the duration of military occupations throughout history hardly encourages that assumption.

The question is not what power in the form of natural resources is left to the German people after this war, but rather: how are the German people allowed to handle their own natural wealth by constitutional means! If ever again 'natural aspirations' and the so-called sacred right to 'liberate German minorities' come into organised expression, it may be taken for granted that the development within Germany has already gone too far to be arrested without war. Within the framework of German administration and legislation, provision must be made for the supervision by the Allies of any Central German Government. And that can be effectively maintained only by returning *to the Federal system within the Reich*, and by strengthening the hold of the states over their own affairs.

The more power vested in the states, the better the prospect that the German will use the national resources for his own benefit, which would embrace a broader cultural depth than has been permitted in recent years by the Central Government. For example, a state like Saxony in control of the larger part of its financial budget is unlikely to be willing to devote that money to schemes of world power. But Saxony art, science, and other aspects of education would be placed in the foreground.

For the United Nations the danger signal should go up the moment any German Reich Government attempts to alter the Reich Constitution in favour of an increase of Central Government.

Germany's contribution in science, art, literature and all the branches of non-violent life was achieved during that short period when the individual state had full control over its finances. The individual German Prince of the eighteenth and nineteenth century spent the national income of his state to a much larger extent on educational measures than any Reich authority has ever attempted.

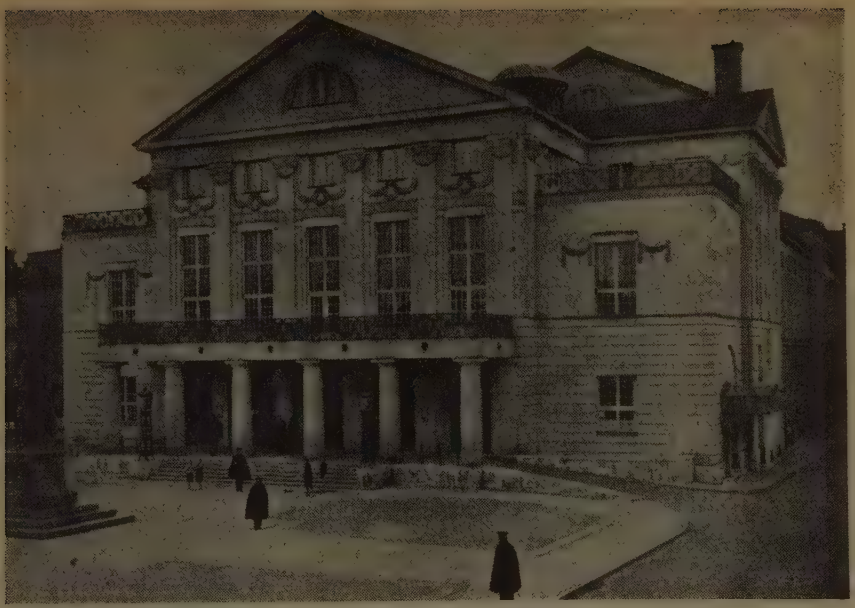
The 'Golden Days of Weimar', when Goethe was State Minister, were only possible because the Ducal House in Weimar could not possibly

Modernity at the railway station of Stuttgart, former capital of Kingdom of Würtemberg

afford to cherish ideas of conquest and expansion, and was indeed under no temptation to do so. But the financial means of the Weimar Court were still sufficient to develop art and science within its own small state. The same—even to a greater extent—applies to Bavaria, where the centre of culture was based on Munich, because here the Royal Bavarian Government could allow its gifted citizens to develop their artistic intentions. Bavaria used its national income to promote a higher standard of culture within its boundaries, if only because any military plans would have been futile in face of all-powerful Austria in the South-East, and France in the West.

As an economic body within Europe, the German Reich is hard to destroy. The cessation of her activity might produce chaos within a European system that has been built up to count on Germany as a market, and as a source of supply. But if that Reich can be forced to absorb more of its own natural wealth, including its manpower and raw materials, within its own boundaries, for purposes which would nourish the individual state and not swell the Reich as a unity, the community of Europe need not be disturbed. Whenever the Reich appears in world markets as a unity, it is apt to underbid international competition in an attempt to swamp the markets with high quality goods at cheaper prices. German capacity to produce cheaper than other nations has been achieved at the expense of the individual German states. No Reich Cabinet would be permitted by federated states to maintain exports by selling at lower-than-production prices. Usually the Reich has embarked on such a policy in order to obtain the raw materials necessary for an increase in her defence programme, and a 'defence programme' includes more than guns and tanks. Even if Germany be completely disarmed after this war, it will still be possible for her to use other weapons, especially those of an economic character, by which she could bring a chain of economically weaker nations to her side. She can readily achieve this by keeping short her own markets.

This should not be mistaken as an attempted outline for a German economic autarky. Whenever the Reich can produce an excess in production which cannot be absorbed by her own internal economic system, she would be allowed to offer this to the world market, but she must not be permitted to offer goods to the world



The National Theatre of Weimar; with the monument to Goethe and Schiller. Goethe was Prime Minister of Saxe-Weimar, and opposed German centralisation

market which are still needed at home. For the correct working of such a system, no keener watchdog could be found than the individual German state. By healthy development each state would strive to maintain adequate food supplies for its own needs, and the direct result would be that Germany's industrial production-power would decrease in favour of agricultural development. Such a process would be most welcomed by all nations—especially neighbouring nations—for it is the highly-developed industrial system within the Reich which enables production to be switched at any time to armament and all contributory needs of war. The nations that make the new world will have recognised by now that a mere paragraph in a treaty does not stop a country from embarking upon a policy of expansion and conquest. It is necessary to deny that country the material basis upon which it could build the military apparatus. In the case of Germany, this can only be done by re-directing her industrial production capacity to her internal needs. For that the individual German state will be the readiest means.

These suggestions remain valid, regardless of what party or what section of the German community should take over the administration of the Reich. The time from 1918 till 1939 has shown too clearly to the world how rapidly the political composition of the German administration can change. Radical changes to left or right would at once be felt in international politics. Political power in the individual German state might change also, of course, but the effect would take much longer to pass from one state to another. Thus the immature German political sense would be met by the slower natural process. If one extremist political party wished to obtain absolute power within Germany, it would no longer find an easy way through one central instrument of power. It would have to work its way through the Diets and Cabinets of the individual states.

No doubt after the war cloaked remnants of the Nazi and Nationalistic movements will resist a revival of the power of the individual states. They will fight to prevent that instrument disappearing which has enabled Germany almost to bring down the edifice of civilisation.

To blunt that concentrated power of Germany and to redirect it to her component states must be one of the aims of the United Nations, because it is probably *the only means* to ensure the peaceful development of Central Europe.

WHAT USE IS ASTRONOMY?

DAVID S. EVANS

We are constantly told that the future of Britain depends on her capacity for making full use of her scientific resources, and using her resources scientifically. If the ordinary man-in-the-street were asked what he thought was meant by this, he would probably think at once of sciences like physics and chemistry and metallurgy on the one hand, and the biological sciences with their applications to medicine and agriculture on the other. He would be puzzled at the scientist's assertion that science forms a single unity: that pure science cannot be separated from applied science, or one science from the rest, without eventual sterility and hindrance to progress. It is not particularly easy to appreciate just why this should be so, and just why even the most abstract of sciences have an important contribution to make to the general progress. Because of this, it becomes difficult to understand why some of the sciences which have no obvious 'bread and butter' value are worth supporting at all, for in the last analysis it is the man in the street who has to foot the bill for research.

In an attempt to make this clear, this article traces a sketch of the history of astronomy, probably the oldest of all the sciences, and tries to show what part it has played in this changing world; how it has influenced those changes and has been influenced by them. It is an attempt to show the usefulness of astronomy, where the term 'usefulness' is understood to imply the value of the subject, not only in direct economic ways, but in the broad sense of its value in relation to other branches of science. It will be seen that very many of the developments of abstract science, of which astronomy furnishes an example, can be regarded as originating from definite practical needs and as providing the solution for problems which were 'in the air'. This is not the whole story by any means. At all times the pure intellectual curiosity of the scientist has worked upon these practical solutions and carried them on to further extensions which only at a much later date have had practical significance. But in an article for a general audience it is perhaps correct to lay emphasis on these practical points, since all too often the layman sees only the reverse of the medal and imagines that advances in the abstract sciences are produced *solely* by the scientists' curiosity and by their appreciation of the undoubted æsthetic value of their subject which nowhere reaches so high a pitch as in astronomy.

The layman asks: 'Well, what is the use of all this?', in reaction to his own view which recognises the beauty of astronomical sights and the awful majesty of great distances and immense periods of time, but fails to see that anything, apparently so remote, can possess a practical and personal significance for himself.

AN EARLY ASTRONOMICAL HARVEST

There have been at least two periods in the history of the world when the answer to the layman's question would have been quite obvious. One of these is the period starting about 500 or 600 B.C., and extending for a few centuries into the Christian era. In that long sweep of time some of the most startling advances in astronomy were made. First, the calendar was improved—an advance most essential to the growth of any settled civilisation. Without it the times of sowing and reaping could not be accurately predicted and agriculture could not have been carried on with any great efficiency. A fairly high standard of accuracy is necessary in a calendar since any error in the length of a year is cumulative. For instance, many calendars were based on the idea that the year must have a good round 360 days, and these, of course, required adjustment every few years. The development of the calendar is no mean achievement, and we are liable to forget how important it is, and that it is to a considerable extent an artificial and ingenious construction.

There were many other advances too. Navigation of a sort was possible. Land surveying of quite a high accuracy existed. A fairly good value for the size of the earth was obtained by Eratosthenes, and the Alexandrian astronomers made quite good estimates of the distances of the moon and the sun. These determinations crowned the work of this period, but there can be little doubt that the first impetus to knowledge came from the perhaps dim realisation of its practical value, and certainly in many civilisations (for instance Egypt) astronomical knowledge was so

highly prized that its possessors held positions of power in the community.

But although modern astronomy has grown out of these distant beginnings, we are concerned with modern times, and to understand modern developments we must consider in more detailed fashion a second period when no one would have had any doubt of the value of astronomy. The central date of this second period lies eight times nearer to us than the first.

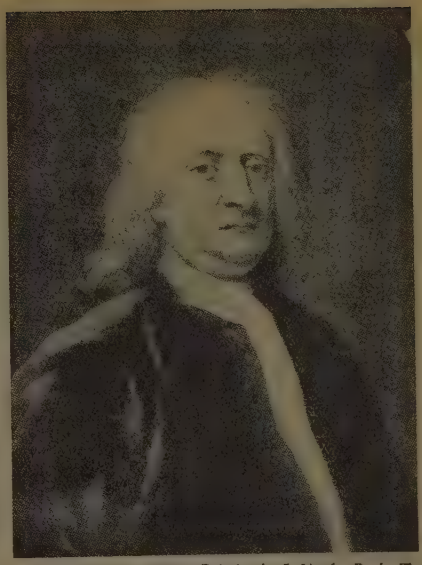
THE MERCHANT AND THE NAVIGATOR

In 1684 all this older knowledge was, of course, still of the utmost practical value. Indeed it had become ever more useful and necessary as civilisation grew, but most of it had been so woven into the fabric of contemporary life that the problems which it solved would hardly have seemed problems demanding a solution at all. The business of the astronomer in this new period in the eyes of the general public was to provide the means of navigation at sea, so as to put an end to the disasters to naval and mercantile shipping which had lately become alarmingly frequent.

To appreciate the issues involved, it is necessary to explain the general principle of navigation. The essential feature of determining the position of a ship at sea is that the positions of selected stars or planets as seen from the ship are compared with their positions as seen *at the same moment* from a fixed station on the earth. In this way, the relation of the ship's position to that of the fixed station can be inferred. Two things are essential for the working of the system: the establishment of a fixed station and the calculation *in advance* of the positions of the stars and planets as seen from it; and the construction of a clock which, when once synchronised with a clock kept at the fixed station, will remain in time with it wherever it is transported on the surface of the globe.

The provision of an accurate clock is by far the more difficult. Contemporary clocks which would run satisfactorily on land were controlled by the swing of a pendulum. Unfortunately a pendulum will not swing satisfactorily on a rolling ship, and all attempts to mount a pendulum so that it would be immune to this sort of interference were failures. For want of a simple solution, more complicated methods were tried.

One of these was the development of what may be called substitute clocks. An ordinary clock has a hand which moves regularly over a series of regularly-spaced marks on a dial. The moon moves irregularly past the irregularly-placed stars in its monthly journey round the sky. The irregularity introduces complications but, in principle at least, the moon does provide a clock which can be seen from half the world at the same moment—i.e. for an average of twelve hours on most days the mariner can see a clock on which he can read the time if his colleagues at the fixed station have accurately predicted the future place of the moon.



SIR ISAAC NEWTON. *Painting by J. Vander Bank. Took a great part in astronomical work to enable correct navigation at sea at a time when the improvement of navigation was essential to Britain*

The great difficulty lay in the fact that the prediction of the motion of the moon is one of the most complicated problems known to physical science. The future positions of a single planet moving round the sun can readily be predicted by methods first disclosed by Newton in 1684, and this problem is now a stock question in elementary examinations. However, the moon is moving under the attraction of the sun, the earth, and the disturbing influences of the other planets, and an exact solution to the problem of its motion is not known even today. To solve the lunar problem requires a succession of laborious and skilful approximations, in which merely to write down the equations involved requires a sizable volume. Scientists may well have been

appalled by the magnitude of the task, even though its full complications were at that time not realised, but the navigational problem was becoming more and more pressing. Each nation which had attained maritime supremacy had realised the importance of finding a solution. Philip III of Spain in 1598 had offered a huge reward for the solution, and other maritime monarchs had followed his example. In Britain in 1674 a Royal Commission was set up to investigate the possibility of finding the longitude from the variation of the compass (a subject which was studied by Edmond Halley on his scientific sea voyages), and at the same time Christopher Wren and others were experimenting with the lunar method and, so it is said, urging upon Charles II the desirability of founding an observatory.

NEWTON GIVES EVIDENCE

The chief ornament of British astronomy was Sir Isaac Newton, who was an outstanding genius even at a time when Britain had more scientists of genius than probably at any time since. It is sometimes thought to be a derogation of Newton's work to suggest that his investigations of the motions of the planets and the moon, his discovery of the law of gravitation and so on, may have been inspired by immediate practical needs. However, there seems no doubt that, at any rate in his later years, Newton himself was fully aware of the practical possibilities opened up by his discoveries. For instance, when in 1714 naval and merchant sea captains and merchants of the City of London petitioned Parliament to offer a prize for the development of an accurate means of navigation, we find Newton as the principal witness before a select committee of the House. In his evidence he described four methods for the determination of position at sea. One required a sea-going chronometer; another was the lunar method. Whether Newton thought that a chronometer could be made, or whether he was a devotee of the lunar method like some of the early Astronomers Royal is not clear. At all events he prepared navigational tables of the position of the moon, which were afterwards revised by Halley. In these days the lunar method seems hopelessly complicated, but at the end of the seventeenth century it may have seemed the only hope of making accurate navigation possible.

Parliament set up a Commission for the Discovery of the Longitude at Sea, offering prizes of up to £2,000 for minor inventions, and a sum of £20,000 for a method of navigation accurate to within thirty miles, this to be tested by a voyage to the West Indies and back. The prize was eventually won by Harrison for his invention of the chronometer, and the navigational problem was no longer the chief unsolved puzzle of astronomy.

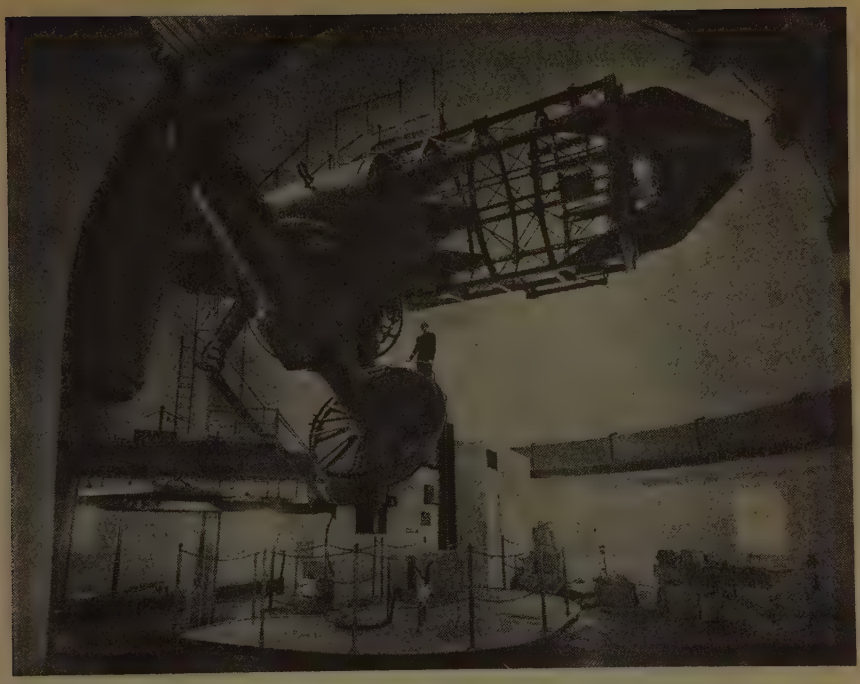
The chief driving force behind development in the seventeenth and eighteenth century astronomical scene had been this one great problem, and most of the flourishing observatories were founded in connection with it.

The solutions of the problems of the motion of the moon and the planets were valuable for navigational purposes, though the lunar problem did not turn out to be a winner in quite the expected way and, in fact, navigation with a clock is perfectly possible by star observations alone. However, almost incidentally in the effort to predict the future positions of the moon and planets, new mathematical methods were developed. In the century-and-a-half after the death of Newton, the methods of predicting planetary motions were greatly developed. In the hands of the greatest mathematicians of the time, an almost unbelievable accuracy became possible, and very great advances both in pure mathematics and in methods of numerical calculation were made. It is hard to assess just how extensive this influence was, but certainly it determined some of the major lines of scientific development. The methods of calculation were applied not only to planets, whose positions had a navigational importance, but as the subject was carried by its own momentum beyond immediate practical needs, the methods were applied to the more distant planets invisible to the naked eye, to the motions of pairs of stars moving under their mutual gravitational attraction and so on. The establishment of the basic mathematical theories and processes certainly assisted the growth of a large part of the mathematics which constitutes a modern honours degree course.

ASTRONOMY INFLUENCES PHILOSOPHY

Predictions of planetary positions became so accurate that they seem to have exercised a slightly hypnotic influence, not only on astronomers but on the population at large. If an astronomer could commit himself to the statement that all that was needed for the indefinite future prediction of the state of the universe was sufficiently detailed information as to its present state, there is little wonder that the man-in-the-street should be impressed by what came to be known as 'astronomical accuracy'.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century astronomy occupied a high place in popular regard, a fact which is not surprising when one



Telescope, *with object glass 82" in diameter, at the Macdonald Observatory, Texas. This is the huge type of instrument which can be used in countries where the atmosphere is very clear, and enables the farthest and faintest objects in the sky to be studied. In Britain, where atmosphere is less favourable, astronomers can concentrate upon the study of the closer stars such as the sun*

considers, in addition to the beauty of its phenomena, to what extent its state of development at the time encouraged a crudely mechanistic philosophy, closely in sympathy with the philosophy of a nation becoming prosperous by its mechanisation of industry. On the biological side Darwin's theory had introduced mechanism to biology, and the popularity of Sir Robert Ball's public lectures on astronomy was only exceeded by the interest aroused by such events as the evolution debate between Bishop Wilberforce and Thomas Henry Huxley. Just as Darwin's theory effectively destroyed the literal interpretation of the biblical story of man's origin, so the development of astronomy and the high degree of mechanical causation with which it invested the universe seemed to corrode the foundations of a philosophy which had placed man, if not at the geometrical centre of the universe as in ancient times, at least at its spiritual centre by endowing him with a liberty of thought and action. If in modern times our view of the universe has become less mechanistic, it has not helped towards the solution of this problem. Rather it has been laid on one side as interest has been drawn to philosophical problems of more immediate urgency.

The astronomy of star positions and planetary motions reached its peak of development towards the end of the nineteenth century. Famous astronomers crowned their life work by the production of four-volume masterpieces on the problems of gravitational astronomy, and certainly a majority of the researches published dealt with this sort of topic.

A NEW REVOLUTION BEGINS

But a very great change was coming. A few astronomers, such as Sir William Huggins and Sir Norman Lockyer, were founding the science of astrophysics. Its roots reach far back, even to the time of Newton himself, but its greatest development is a modern phenomenon. The older astronomers asked: 'Where does this or that

Nebulous region in Cepheus, *photographed at the Yerkes Observatory, U.S.A. This shows the far distant nebulæ that can be studied by the big telescope in clear atmospheres. It also shows the great æsthetic beauty of some astronomical subjects*

star or planet appear in the sky?' The new questions were concerned with the properties of the stars themselves: 'What are their temperatures, compositions, masses?', and so on. Astrophysical information is hard to come by, for no samples can be taken for analysis, and no thermometer can be dipped in the gases of the stars. To obtain such information, roundabout routes must be followed, and the old questions of positional astronomy must often be answered first, as steps towards the new goal. So tortuous are the routes to knowledge that their discovery could only be made after astronomy and physics had reached a high level of development. Indeed, it was not so many years previously that a philosopher, anxious to show the limitations of science, had sought to propound a problem which could be stated, but which could never be solved, and chose the problem of finding the chemical constitution of the stars.

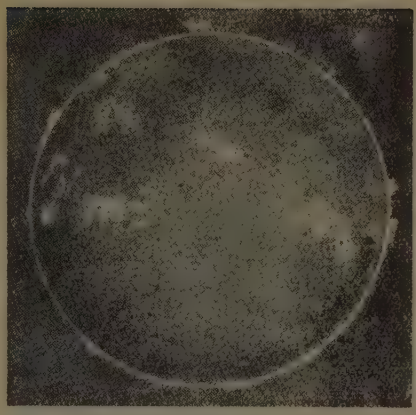
If that problem is not solved in its entirety, at least a great mass of information about it is available today. When the outbreak of war enforced a drastic curtailment of astronomical research, perhaps almost a majority of the astronomers of the world were working on these problems of the *intrinsic* properties of the stars, what we might describe as problems of their own internal economy. This is in sharp contrast to the state of affairs at the beginning of this century when about a third of astronomical studies were devoted to the motions of the planets and similar problems, about a third to studies of the positions which the stars occupy in the sky, and only part of the remaining third dealt with the problems of the structure of the stars themselves.

The way in which this change came about is worthy of closer examination for, within the space of a comparatively few years, attention had swung away from the problems of dynamical astronomy which had for so long fascinated

astronomers and laymen alike, into new directions of development.

All the information that can be obtained about a star is brought to us on the light it emits. That light comes from the surface of a globe of hot gas at a temperature of between 3,000 and 20,000 degrees centigrade. We now know that these gases are often a complicated mixture of the vapours of many of the elements, but that the most abundant element is the gas hydrogen. The road to such a conclusion lies through a study of the light emitted by hot gases and requires a deep knowledge of the behaviour of atoms of matter under various conditions. When these problems of the physics of the stars were first studied, no information was available as to the structure and behaviour of atoms. The first information of this kind was obtained by the analysis of light from hot gases by means of the spectroscope. In fact, the first beginnings of our modern knowledge of atomic structure and the earliest developments of the science of spectroscopy are due to astronomical studies. Naturally enough, later studies were made on sources of light in the physics laboratory, where conditions were under the control of the experimenter and could be made much simpler and easier to understand than the extremely complex conditions which obtain in stars. Modern knowledge of the behaviour of atoms and electrons and their interactions with light forms the foundation of branches of science in extensive use in industry today. It would be wrong to suggest that this knowledge was gained from astronomical studies, but it is correct to say that some of the more important lines of investigation were first started and suggested by astronomical investigations.

This instance forms a good example of the inter-actions which take place between pure and applied science. Between the various fields of study a continual interchange is taking place. Modern physics owes a debt to astronomy, but it is only right to acknowledge that astronomy was one of the chief gainers from the advance of physics. The laboratory is a more appropriate place than the star for the study of atomic behaviour. Each separate kind of atom has been exhaustively studied, until now it is becoming possible to consider the behaviour of such complicated mixtures of atoms as are found in stars, and to infer the behaviour of the mixture from the behaviour of the individuals of which it is composed. Perhaps the greatest advance of all was the discovery by Bethe in 1938 of exactly how the stars generate their enormous output of energy which continues, apparently for millions of years without noticeable diminution, at a rate



The sun photographed in calcium light. *This is typical of the work that can be done in England; consisting of the study through suitable spectrographic apparatus of the nearer stars, of which of course the sun is the nearest. There are millions of stars of this type which could be investigated here, if we can employ sufficient personnel and equipment. The results would lead to great advances in our knowledge of the physical processes occurring in gases at very high temperatures, which would provide a basis on which extensive industrial applications might be built*

far exceeding the meagre energy production of ordinary fuels. Put in its simplest terms, this energy production is the result of the transmutation of the hydrogen, which we have already noticed is an abundant constituent of the stars, into the element helium, a process in which atomic energy is liberated. This result means, in fact, that the alchemist's dream of the transmutation of the elements is one of the most common processes in the universe. Perhaps fortunately it is, however, taking place in the most inaccessible places in the universe—the interiors of the stars.

ASTRONOMY'S PLACE IN FUTURE SCIENCE

We began this superficial sketch of some of the general trends of astronomical development with ancient times. The seventeenth-century developments were closely connected with navigational needs; the twentieth century, especially between the two wars, has been a time in which a revolution in physics has occurred, and we entertain grave suspicion that astronomy was responsible for throwing the first bomb in that upheaval. At all events astronomy has been the gainer, and has prospered by taking advantage of all the new

theoretical knowledge which the revolution has introduced. At the same time new developments in navigational methods—the use of wireless time signals, radio beams and so on—have reduced the navigational importance of astronomy. Most of the observatories founded in recent years—the majority in the United States—have been intended specifically for the study of astrophysical problems.

But what of the future? After the last war astronomy went ahead by leaps and bounds. Is it likely to do so again? Prediction is rash, but there seems every likelihood that it will do so. There are many other lines of astronomical investigation besides these we have been discussing, but even when we confine our attention to these, prospects seem good. It should not be thought that in Britain we have much chance to emulate the kind of researches with huge telescopes which the clear air and favourable climate of parts of the United States and South Africa make possible. Development here will probably go along what seem to be less spectacular lines. We have seen that the application of modern physical principles to the stars has given us a much deeper understanding of the way in which the stars work. It seems quite likely that, in the near future, astronomy will begin repaying this debt which she now owes to physics. Hitherto the very complications of stellar conditions have made an exact interpretation of the processes going on in the stars very difficult. We are now reaching a position when almost enough is known to enable the astronomer to regard each star as a sort of experiment in progress which he cannot control, but which he can observe, and which he is beginning to understand. The greatest advance has been reached in the study of the nearest star, the sun. A good deal is now known about the way in which the sun affects our upper atmosphere, how it renders possible—and occasionally prevents—long distance radio communication on the earth. Much is known of the composition of the sun, and the conditions of its outer layers. We have some understanding of the huge movements of heated gases which are taking place in the outer layers of the sun.

But probably we know as much about the sun as about all the rest of the stars put together. In the past, there has been a tendency among astronomers to concentrate their attention on the more unusual stars observed, but it may well be that in the future astronomers in Britain may concentrate their attention on a comparatively small number of what are believed to be typical stars, and may try to bring our knowledge of them to a level comparable with our knowledge of the sun. This type of programme would require a close collaboration between observational astronomers, theoretical physicists and laboratory workers, since no one man can have the necessary command of all three fields. The instruments required would not be very large, but it would almost certainly be necessary to have available first-class laboratory facilities in addition to the observational equipment. This necessity arises because it would become necessary from time to time to conduct experiments in which particular features of the stellar conditions were reproduced. Unfortunately, however, it is generally true that the laboratory equipment of observatories does not compare in quality with their observational equipment. What is needed is a recognition by the public of the *practical task*, which can be performed by astronomy, and an increased public support of what is now one of the least adequately financed branches of science.

Exactly what would come out of this programme we cannot say, but probably enough has been said to show the close relationship which exists between so-called 'pure' science and applied science. The two are mutually related and neither can advance without the other. In the past, practical needs have led in the end to great advances in pure science. Now it seems as if something like a reverse process is going to take place: certainly it would be no surprise if once again astronomy were to make another capital contribution to our knowledge of the structure and behaviour of matter.

The public of Britain are becoming science-minded in the sense that they are aware of the practical advances which have been made; that they are willing to be interested in the understanding of nature, and realise that this understanding can be used for their own betterment. Perhaps it is optimistic to believe that there is also an understanding of the fact that the uses to which scientific knowledge is put are not inherent in that knowledge, but depend on the structure of society. If these hopes are justified, then it will be understood that science is a single body whose members are mutually dependent, and that even so unworldly a subject as astronomy has its place, lending harmony and some power to the whole.

4

RUSSIA'S SECRET WEAPON

ALEXANDER BLOCK

In an address to the Empire Parliamentary Association at the Houses of Parliament in London General Smuts said: 'When we consider all that has happened to Russia within the last twenty-five years, and we see Russia's *inexplicable rise*, we can only call it one of the great phenomena in history. It is the sort of thing to which there is no parallel in history, but it has come about.' I will try to explain this great rise which seemed to General Smuts 'inexplicable' and which has so much surprised him and the world, including Hitler. I suggest that the key to understanding Russia's new strength and triumphs is the participation of the masses in the life of the community. Herein lies the road Russia has been the first to travel, her new 'secret weapon', and also her great contribution to the world. In what follows I indicate briefly how this fundamental democratisation is brought about and some of the wonders it has worked in the life of the individuals and the community.

Considering the relatively very brief span of time during which constructive work under Soviet planned economy was at all possible, we must agree that the speed of development outdistanced the feats of private enterprise. I think, however, that this point has absorbed too much attention both of admirers and critics. The true achievements of the revolution are far greater. Impressive though production figures are, neither in efficiency nor in quality have the highest standards yet been reached. Russia's supremacy lies in a different direction. Although clouded by a smoke screen of materialist philosophy and phraseology, the glory of Russia's revolution is that of the spirit. Moreover, material values created, however great, have been already to a large extent swept away by the German invasion. Its true legacy is more lasting. It consists in creating a powerful human potential for future development.

The central item in the great transformation which has taken place is man himself, his relation to other men and to the community. The collapse of the old régime was characterised by disintegration of society. The task of the revolutionary government was prompt and vigorous integration. This implies the raising of the masses of the people, including women, and including the so-called 'backward' races and nations to full participation in the life, political and cultural, of the whole people.

Part of the spiritual heritage which cannot be easily destroyed by invasion is a new system of law embodying a step forward in the application of the principle of brotherhood of men, nationally and internationally. It provides for complete equality of women with men and of national minorities. It has set up the first legal scheme for public ownership of the productive resources in which the motive of profit is substituted by the motive of service. It has created the pattern for land utilisation under public ownership, including town and country planning unhampered by vested interests. Having studied this legislation, I am convinced of its value outside the Soviet Union, whenever and wherever these subjects are dealt with.

One of the changes brought about by the active participation of the masses in the life of the community is the changed attitude towards the future. Love for the future, and, what is one and the same thing, readiness to sacrifice the present for the future, distinguishes the Soviet Union from the rest of the world, perhaps more than anything else. Probably at no other period has any nation been asked for greater sacrifices than had been asked from the peoples of the Soviet Union during the years between the two world wars, and no nation has ever responded more readily to the call made upon it. Yet after all the privations already experienced, when the people had just started to have their stomachs regularly filled, and were beginning at long last to see some dividends for their efforts, the German invasion came. We all know that war demands great sacrifices and inflicts great sufferings on the people, who are always its victims, and we all know that the sacrifices and sufferings inflicted on the Russian people by the present war are particularly heavy. What has puzzled the world is the gallantry and strength with which this new burden, so terrible and so great, has been borne and overcome. Harold Nicolson wrote of 'the utter intensity of Russia's resolution', of 'Russia's energy such as the world has never seen before—an energy in comparison with which our own day-to-day efforts appear mere dawdlings.' The explanation of this utter intensity of effort is the love of the people of Russia for Russia's future.

This extraordinary love for the future is

brought about by the participation of the masses of the people in the life of the community. The life of the community differs from the life of individuals in terms of time. The former is infinitely longer than the latter, and this additional time is in the future. Not only is the bourgeois outlook centred in the life and wellbeing of individuals, more isolated and selfish, but concern for the future is much more narrow and limited. The more the people share in the life of the community as a whole, the more they identify their lives with the life of that whole, the greater their love for that whole and its future.

War is the supreme test of a people's love for its future, because it requires the greatest of all sacrifices—life itself. But love for the future affects the life and work of the people also in times of peace in many and various ways. One of the most remarkable changes is in the attitude towards children and mothers. The bourgeois attitude originated in the conception of the child as the 'property' of its parents. Consequently care of children is solely the responsibility of parents. In addition to inequality of opportunities through class divisions, many children throughout the world start life under the stigma of illegitimacy.

The *Children's Charter* of the British Labour Party, published in 1937, *does not even mention illegitimacy*, and regards 'a complete system of children's allowances' as too costly. The war has undoubtedly acted also in this field as the 'big accelerator' (to use Lord Horder's word), at least in preparing the minds and hearts of the British people for a new attitude, but the problem of children is still only under discussion. It is significant that what was considered too costly for wealthy England has been achieved in poor Russia. Children in U.S.S.R. have always been regarded as the greatest treasure, and, however scant the resources, they and their education have been the first charge. *Differences in the rights of children born in or out of wedlock have been abolished.* Under the Soviet law, no problem of illegitimacy exists. Having granted women equal rights with men, the Soviet Union provided special privileges for mothers. Grants are paid on the birth of the third and every subsequent child. Provisions for unmarried mothers are probably unique in the world. Single women get a monthly allowance for twelve years in respect of every child born to them. They have also the right to place the children in an orphanage, where the state, instead of paying an allowance, will accept full care, and reclaim them whenever they wish.

The comparative ease with which 'the drive for population' is being tackled in the Soviet Union can be explained by the changed relation of individuals to the nation: the child is precious to the nation because it is its future. The Red Army is precious because it safeguards the future. 'The Red Army,' wrote *Pravda*, 'is the best and foremost part of the people, its flower.' Because it is the people's army, the Red Army has become the most powerful of modern armies.

Participation of the masses affects the life of the nation in all its aspects, including the cultural. In the first place, it brings about the revival and re-discovery of the cultural heritage of the nation. What each generation receives from its predecessors in spiritual values is not a fixed but a widely fluctuating amount. All depends on the abilities of the respective heirs to use their heritage. I saw in Samarkand (Central Asia) the remains of magnificent buildings, evidence of a highly-developed art of architecture, and I saw the people unable to repeat, to rebuild or even to maintain them: they were living in poor huts built out of the débris.

Values created by Socrates and Plato, Leonardo da Vinci and Galileo, Shakespeare, Goethe and Pushkin are potentials which become actual or living values in so far only as they are absorbed, studied and appreciated by the people. Otherwise their value is lost, whether buried in oblivion or under the lava of Vesuvius. The actual worth of books and manuscripts on the shelves of the British Museum, however precious, is nil, *if nobody reads them.*

Between conditions of complete darkness and oblivion in which whole generations can be, and actually have been, submerged, and conditions of full life and awareness, there are many intermediate stages. In society based on class distinction, such as capitalist democracies, the masses are apt to be excluded from the cultural life, and to the extent that they are, the value of the national inheritance is diminished. Our cultural heritage is a capital which grows with the increase in the number of people sharing in it.

The cultural revolution brought about by the participation of the masses is then, first of all, a process of vigorous renaissance. Pushkin, Lermontov, Leskov, Gogol, Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dostoievski, Goncharov, Tchekhov have not been surpassed by Soviet writers, neither have Glinka, Tchaikovsky or Mussorgsky, *but for the first time, Puskhin and the other great Russian writers, composers and artists are read, listened to, and enjoyed by millions, in all the languages of the Soviet Union.* Accordingly, their worth to the nation, and their influence, have increased immensely. This miraculous increase in spiritual values applies not only nationally, but internationally. Not

only are the old Russian classics resurrected to a new and fuller life, but so are the world classics.

Participation of the masses in the cultural life opens a reservoir of new talent which would otherwise have no opportunity of effective expression. It thus releases fresh energies for creativeness. Change under this heading is not less powerful and beneficial than under the first, but so far it has had less opportunity of unfolding itself.

Participation of the masses in the life of the nation—economic, cultural and political—is, in my opinion, the greatest and most permanent achievement of Russia's revolution. It is Russia's 'secret weapon' of unrivalled power, but its use is open to all. New strength springs from the energies released in the common man not only in Russia, but everywhere. Even in Russia this weapon is, to a large extent, a latent power. Its promise is still much greater than its achievement. The achievements so far attained were attained in spite of the enormous setback Russia sustained through the break of continuity in her historical development, a break more violent, more complete and more devastating than any ever experienced by a nation in a social upheaval. To appreciate more fully this new weapon in Russia's future development, we must visualise its application in more favourable conditions of peace and freedom than those hitherto prevailing.

HAS WALES A FUTURE?

WILLIAM GLYNNE-JONES, former metal worker

EVENTS are sweeping us steadily forward towards the light that shines at the end of the long tunnel of war. It is natural that our minds should leap ahead to the freedom and the new beginning of that post-war Tomorrow for which we have striven and sacrificed so greatly.

Natural, too, that certain apprehensions should be woven like black *crêpe* in the bright fabric of our planning, and that certain ghosts should haunt the forward-thinking people of Wales, most particularly.

Bitter, mocking ghosts of the last war, and the grim No Man's Land of the inter-war period. Ghosts of the Hunger Marchers and the Means Test. Ghosts of the Derelict Areas and the endless procession of those 431,000 young people who were forced to migrate from their native Wales in search of work in the stricken years between 1921 and 1938. Eighty-seven per cent of those half-million people were under forty-four years of age. The land was drained of much of her natural vitality and potential productive capacity through the departure of so large a section of her army of vigorous workers, and educated, adventurous youth. She was left an older population—a population visited by their ghosts.

From 1928 to 1938 the percentage of unemployment in Wales rose as high as 40 per cent; it was never below 20 per cent. In England as a whole before the war the unemployment figure was 16 per cent.

The misery, waste and frustration of that long period of mass unemployment must not be suffered again. Indeed, it will not be suffered again. Far-visioned planning must be put into early operation in order that the transition from war to peace may be carried out smoothly, and in the best possible interests of society at large. We will study, later on, how this can best be achieved.

First let us examine the National question.

It must be appreciated that there is a wide range of Welsh Nationalism, including left-wingers, right-wingers and centrists. It embraces those who are anxious that the Welsh language shall be preserved in schools, courts of law, and on the B.B.C.—who are, in various measure, satisfied with the concessions already granted—and the extreme Nationalists who will never be satisfied with anything less than complete political and economic independence, and a severance of all ties with England.

Although the Welsh Nationalist Party represents a small minority party receiving very little support from the working class and absolutely none from the organised labour movement, it may be as well for us to expose briefly its aims and principles for it is loud-mouthed and insistent.

Its demands include complete Welsh independence, comprising a separate Parliament, Judiciary, and King or President. Had it the power, it would drag society back to the Middle Ages, and its sympathies are consistently on the reactionary side of the fence. The following brief quotation from its official organ, *Y Ddraig Goch*,

casts a revealing light upon the Welsh Nationalist Party:

'There are many virtues and excellences in Fascism. It is not possible to read anything authoritative on the movement in Italy, nor on Fascist principles, without esteeming its ideals and patriotic spirit. It may be seen at once, for instance, that many of the ideals of Fascism form an important part of the ideals of the Welsh Nationalist Party. This is not due to any accident and there has been no borrowing. But the Welsh Nationalist Party have also gone to the same fount as the Fascist leaders to seek living waters to revive the desert of our social life. That fount is the best tradition of European countries before the industrial and capitalist revolution which destroyed Christian society and the graciousness of civilisation.'

* * *

Wales is essentially a working-class nation: a nation naturally proud of its history—it has never been conquered!—its language, which is still used by one-third of the population; the rich inheritance of its literature; its unique traditions and customs.

And feeling is strong among the mass of her people that Wales, as a nation, is denied certain important and far-reaching concessions which are granted to Scotland. These include a Secretary of State for Wales, and powers of self-government at present enjoyed by Scotland but withheld from Wales.

The reasons motivating these demands are rational and urgent. At the present time there is no single body whose business it is to attend to the welfare of Wales. A Welsh Office, with a Secretary of State of Cabinet rank would greatly facilitate the smooth functioning of Welsh affairs.

In her opening address to Parliament at the Welsh debate last October, Miss Megan Lloyd George, as Chairman of the Welsh Parliamentary Party, said in regard to the vital and laborious formation of post-war plans:

'In recent months Members representing Welsh constituencies have had to make the rounds of Whitehall, from department to department, because there is no single Minister whose responsibility it is to see that the interests of Wales are safeguarded, or even understood.'

The higher status which this concession would naturally confer on Wales is in truth a secondary consideration. Of first importance is the effect it would have on Welsh industry and agriculture—on the economy of the country, and the post-war situation which will arise.

It is also felt that great importance attaches to the formation of a National Administrative Council for Wales. Through this the work of the local authorities can be co-ordinated and unified into a single, progressive national plan.

Only through national emancipation, while remaining an integral part of the British Empire, can Wales fully develop her natural resources and make her proper contribution to the post-war world.

* * *

The reasons for the deplorable depression which so largely paralysed Wales after the last war may be briefly recalled.

The existing base of Welsh industry was perilously narrow to support, with any measure of security, the large structure of labour precariously balanced upon it. Four or five principal industries bore the responsibility of the bulk of the nation's economic wellbeing. This highly specialised economic structure, dependent upon the basic industries of coal, iron and steel, tinplate, slate and agriculture, was subject to the full impact of international events and technological change which characterised the last post-war period.

Markets lost through the war were never recovered. Reparations deliveries, particularly of coal, dealt a terrible blow to Welsh industry. And this was followed by other blows, inflicted by the Irish tariff war, the return to the Gold Standard, sanctions against Italy—which largely affected the vital export trade of Wales—various Government Trade Agreements, and punitive taxation levelled against coal-using steam wagons.

It is of primary importance that a new, balanced economy shall be built up in Wales in order that a repetition of the Great Depression shall not be suffered. Stout props and a wider base must be introduced so that the danger of the whole nation being violently shaken and its security threatened by the possible collapse or restriction of one of her main basic industries is abolished.

New industries and exports must be introduced, and a diversified Welsh industrial structure carefully constructed.

Much can be done on the foundations that have been laid during the years of war.

It is naturally not possible, for security reasons, to divulge the extent and location of war industries which have been introduced into Wales.

Apart from the various enormous Royal Ordnance factories functioning in various parts of North and South Wales, Mr. Dalton recently quoted that over a million square feet of factory floor space had been laid in the country. This

The horror of industrialism in Swansea

represents good, new, modern factories, equipped with all the necessities for manufacture. And still more have been planned for early erection.

It should also be borne in mind that there are more people employed in war work in Wales today than there were in the basic industries before the war.

The utmost concern is felt and expressed throughout the country concerning the future of these Government war factories which have in so great measure brought employment, indeed in some districts over-employment, to formerly depressed areas.

Huge capital expenditure has been sunk in the construction and servicing of these war factories, and the suggestion that they may be 'scrapped' when their immediate usefulness to the war effort is over quite naturally spreads alarm.

Two main suggestions have been put forward for the post-war conversion of these valuable potential industrial plants.

One suggestion that is advanced is that these factories shall be converted into single production units. A more popular proposal concerns their conversion into trading estates—on the lines of Treforest, which is the forerunner of this scheme.

Such trading estates would inevitably involve considerable housing construction, for one of the chief shortcomings of wartime industrial development in Wales has been the disparity between the distribution of workplaces and of houses. But in any event Wales will be faced with a considerable programme of town-planning and house construction after the war, and there is much to be said in favour of a scheme which would relieve the congested industrial districts within the region.

The needs of the post-war world will be stupendous, and there will certainly be no difficulty in selecting suitable light industries for Welsh development.

Abrasives and other domestic commodities could be manufactured as by-products of the sorely-crippled slate industry; electrical and mechanical colliery equipment, the bulk of which has previously been imported into Wales, should be fostered; there will be a great and growing demand for electric motor production after the war to meet the requirements of the essential scheme for modernisation of basic industries. Indeed, the Ministry of Fuel and Power has given initial impetus in this connection by placing orders in Wales for the supply of mechanical loading apparatus.

Fishers in the Towy, Carmarthenshire, still use the coracles of the Ancient Britons

While naturally the main bulk and economy of Welsh exports will depend upon old-established basic industries, the development of subsidiary industries will enormously benefit the country.

Actually, between fifty and sixty new industries have already been established in Wales by refugees from Central Europe, whose knowledge and experience of foreign requirements and markets should be of real value in the development of an export trade.

The goods being produced by these manufacturers include metal alloys, chemicals, small electrical apparatus, metal furniture, clothes, leather straps, shoes, spectacle frames, cigarette papers, cartons, flexible metallic tubing, canned meats, buttons, insecticides, paints and varnishes, domestic plastic ware, and many others.

It is also possible that the new Welsh industries that will be built up in the early post-war period will include light ships, for it is felt that Welsh harbours and basic industries would particularly facilitate ship-building.

'South Wales is to have a watch and clock factory which may develop into the biggest in the British Isles.

'It is to be in the Swansea Valley, where Smith's English Clocks, Limited, have bought eighty-five acres of the Ynyscedwyn estate. There will be jobs for several thousands.'[1]

* * *

A vital regional industry which should flourish after the war is the tourist trade of North Wales.

The wonderful scenery of the Welsh mountains and coasts should be exploited as a national capital asset ranking in importance with her basic industries. Wales will be able to play a real part in helping to heal and restore the war-weary, rest-and-beauty-starved men and women who will turn to her hospitable, lovely land for recuperation. North Wales could become the Switzerland of Britain—with a difference: she would be accessible for workers from the cities of Great Britain, not a playground for the wealthy with much time and money to burn.

It will, however, be necessary for vastly improved transport facilities to be available. And in this connection—although it will also be of the utmost importance in the opening up and development of large agricultural and industrial areas—the construction of the trunk road from North to South Wales, as planned by Mr. Pryce-Davis of Bangor, must be undertaken.

This vital arterial road has long been the subject of discussion, and the time is overdue for its construction. At long last the erection of the Severn Bridge has been accepted as a No. 1 priority. The proposed arterial road which will link North and South Wales, passing through the beautiful, isolated centre of the country, is essential for the proper development of the tourist industry.

So, also, is the development of civil aviation, which is to play such an important part in post-war transport and communications.

A great many first-rate aerodromes have been established in Wales during the war, for Service use. It should be borne in mind that not only will it be necessary to arrange regular air transport between Wales and the main English cities; it is also strongly recommended by the Welsh Reconstruction Advisory Council that 'at least one Transatlantic aerial terminus should be established in Wales, and suitably linked to the major road and railway routes.'

* * *

Within the scope of this article it is patently not possible to develop the many aspects of Welsh industry and affairs. Something must be said, however, of the severe handicap imposed through hopelessly inadequate national servicing of electricity, piped water and roads.

From *The Daily Mirror*, 20.1.45

The beauty of the Elan Valley, Radnorshire

An adequate and reasonably cheap supply of electricity is of major importance in the future development of Wales. Not only would the highly desirable 'new industries', which it is hoped will be cultivated after the war, be supplied with essential cheap power, but rural areas also would benefit enormously in consequence.

Something like £30,000,000 has been paid out by the Government towards financing a hydro-electric scheme for the development of the Highlands of Scotland. Could Wales not be assisted in the same way?

Other vital problems, that will have to be tackled in a definite, far-visioned manner if the way is to be cleared for the progress of Welsh industry and agriculture, are concerned with water and roads. In spite of the very plentiful rainfall, the rivers and lakes of Wales, the domestic and rural piped water supply is hopelessly inefficient and behind the times, as also is the case with regard to roads, very many of which are still unclassified. The modernisation of Welsh agriculture is largely dependent on these national services, and steps will have to be taken to develop the supply of electricity and water, as well as the construction of good roads.

Wales is essentially a cattle- and sheep-raising country, and a land suitable, by reason of her climate and geography, for market gardening—the development of which so largely depends upon the opening up of new roads, and the holiday industry.

It is a country of family farms. The average size of a holding is only forty-six acres, 70 per cent under fifty acres in extent and no more than half per cent exceeding three-hundred acres.

In equipment and modernisation we are immeasurably behind the farms of England, largely due to the shocking state of the roads of Wales, and the real poverty of our farming community.

Owing to unsatisfactory farm buildings, lack of water supplies and other essential facilities, the overwhelming proportion of dairy farmers in Wales have not been able to reach or maintain the standard set down for qualification under the Accredited Milk Scheme.

One cannot over-emphasise the importance of re-fitting our dairy farms, of abundant pure water supplies and cheap electricity.

* * *

Coal is still the greatest source of natural

Cockle-sellers in Carmarthen market are reminiscent of the old Welsh dress

wealth in Wales, and will remain the most important foundation upon which post-war industrial reconstruction will be built.

Hitherto coal has accounted for something like one-fifth of the total volume of British exports, and the prosperity of the coal-mining industry, as well as other basic Welsh industries, which exist largely for export, depends on the foreign policy of the Government. This is a fact which the Welsh Nationalist Party conveniently overlooks when it voices its demands for complete independence. There can be no real progress in isolation.

The demand for nationalisation of the coal-mining industry is universal in Wales. In the painful light of history, it is clearly seen that only through state ownership can a real solution be found for the many deep and complex problems that are strangling this vital industry.

The flourishing condition of the state-owned mines in the Netherlands is frequently laid before one as a basis for comparison. These mines have been developed systematically since they opened in 1901. The improved methods of working constantly being introduced there throw the chronically out-of-date equipment still used in many of our Welsh mines into very poor light indeed. Not only is the average wage higher in Netherlands state-owned mines than in our own, but production varies from 50 per cent to 75 per cent higher than our production in seams that are quite as difficult to exploit.

Their accident rate is little more than half our figure and, not surprisingly, there is no shortage of labour. Young men are attracted to the industry in the Netherlands, whereas, in this country, parents whose lives have been spent in the shadow of the harsh labour, unemployment, and heart-break of the pits understand only too well when their sons choose to emigrate rather than follow their fathers into the mines.

Private ownership of the mines has proved its complete inadequacy. Only under state control can our mines be preserved, equipped and modernised for the needs of today.

* * *

The degree to which the basic industries of Wales are inter-dependent is illustrated by the fact that two-thirds of the output of steel in Wales is consumed in tinplate and associate industries.

The geographical dispensation of basic industries is largely responsible for the fact that South Wales has been declared an area for special development, for in the south are the main concentrations of coal, steel and tinplate industries, as well as the ports. In the north there are the slate quarries, which should be in some measure revitalised through post-war rebuilding and repair demands, in spite of the many substitutes now being used.

The effect of the introduction of the American strip-meal method of tinplate production, as at present in operation in the Ebbw Vale works, is revolutionising the entire tinplate industry, and not a little concern is felt in the south as to the the future of this important industry.

One must bear in mind the growth of substitutes for tinplate, and the fact that many pre-war export markets have been lost to Wales for ever. For instance, large-scale developments in the steel industry of Australia will most likely rule that market out in the post-war export field, as well as much of the Canadian market. The rapid growth of industrialism in the Dominions during the war must have a marked effect on post-war exports from this country.

The future of this industry undoubtedly lies in the laying down of new strip mills, on the pattern of the works at Ebbw Vale, and the scrapping of the out-dated tinworks still in use in South Wales.

* * *

Many problems will have to be unravelled, and far-sighted plans put into motion. But the future course for Wales is clear. It lies in a demand for Welsh National Rights, which will enable Wales as a nation to revive its national character and develop its natural resources as an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It means shouldering the responsibility of managing its own affairs, not in isolation, but as a living nation, and a unit of the British Union of Equals. Only so can Wales contribute her full measure to the new world of tomorrow.

KEYNES, *unlike so many economists and financiers, likes art. That is why he is a better economist*

C.E.M.A. IS DOING FINE WORK—
DESPITE ATTACKS BY THE ANTI-CULTURE PRESS

A. E. CLAYDON

IT was in April 1942 that the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, established in January 1940 by the Pilgrim Trust and Lord de la Warr, then President of the Board of Education, became the full responsibility of the Treasury. In short, only then did the British nation as a whole accept any responsibility for its culture. Previously, the artistic life of England had been in private hands—originally individual patrons, wealthy people with a taste for artistic dabbling, and later mainly limited liability companies formed to make a profit out of catering for the permanent taste for music and drama amongst the people.

These rather unkind words are not wholly true, for besides municipally-owned orchestras, there have always been odd people prepared to back an individual artist's exhibition, or finance a play of uncertain appeal, or publish a book not on the plan of best-sellers but, generally speaking, the situation was one in which a work of art had to promise a credit balance, or remain unseen. Of late years the B.B.C. has shown an (unfortunately small) interest in the works of living composers, but their usual attitude to public money is to send it in the wake of public taste, as witness their fondness for radio-dramatisations of current film successes.

In 1940, however, there arrived a state of affairs never before known in this country. London itself, until then the home of most original production in music and drama, was under the threat of air bombardment; the 'black-out' and petrol restrictions were isolating whole towns and villages, throwing them back on their own resources; and mobilisation, both military and industrial, was concentrating large bodies of people in isolated places, where there was no provision under the profit-motivated scheme of things for their entertainment.

There were in existence various bodies which, though designed to help people entertain themselves, had not adequate machinery to cope with this new state of affairs. Such bodies were the W.E.A., the Rural Music Schools, the Women's Institutes and the British Council. Something had to be done and done quickly; the appointment by the Board of Education of a small Committee to administer funds from the Pilgrim Trust was the answer. This Committee, faced with an undefined and immense task, performed miracles with very little.

In the beginning the work consisted of providing solo musicians and singers to visit these remote spots—and less remote spots like air-raid shelters and rest centres after air-raids; in sponsoring local tours by repertory companies, notably the Pilgrim Players and the Market

Theatre. It was actually the work of those artistes during and after air-raids that first brought the initials C.E.M.A. into the public ken.

There was never any doubt about the need for the kind of work the Council was doing, and within three months the Treasury doubled the original grant from the Trust. At the end of the second financial year the Pilgrim Trust, according to its constitution, withdrew from the Committee it had made possible, and left the financing of the work entirely to the Government. That third year began with a grant of £100,000 (double the previous one), and the story of how that money has been used makes one of the most fascinating stories of the war. It is told in a report published by C.E.M.A. at a shilling under the title *The Arts in Wartime*.

To quote long lists of figures from the book is a great temptation, but they do not convey half the story. The best part is only lightly touched upon in the report, when it mentions small groups of musicians and players adventuring into new places, noisy factory canteens, tiny village halls and hastily erected huts in camps and ordnance factories, and receiving a grateful ovation that warmed their hearts, a reward that more than counterbalanced any financial loss. That was the first and perhaps most important work of the Council, but its help has since been extended in many directions, all of which are described. Not only has it been concerned with the discovery of new audiences, but also with maintaining the old ones.

In the world of music, the help has taken two main forms. The first and familiar one is that of providing concerts for small and inexperienced audiences, where the full cost is borne by the Council, and all proceeds go to the Council; the second, by providing a guarantee against loss to orchestras and local societies giving concerts or financing them. This has made possible provincial tours of famous orchestras, as well as the re-establishment of music clubs, with fresh energy to institutions like the Rural Music Schools. During the year reviewed, guarantees to String and Symphony Orchestras totalled over £5,800, while to the Liverpool Lunchtime Concerts, local Music Clubs and Regional Concerts went another £2,000. Amongst the orchestras given such guarantees are the Hallé, the London Philharmonic and Symphony, and the Northern Philharmonic. Among String Orchestras the Boyd Nash, Catterall, Newcastle and Yorkshire appear. The total number of directly provided concerts rose from 3,964 in 1942 to 4,449 in 1943, of which 2,429 were given in factories and 436 in Y.M.C.A. canteens and centres.

Help to drama is given in block grants, loans and limited guarantees to various theatrical companies. Here, more than in music, the public is aware of the work done by C.E.M.A. which, in addition to the travelling repertory companies already mentioned, has been in association with the Ballets Rambert and Jooss, both of whom have taken programmes to war workers' hostels and small towns, the Bankside Players and the Mercury Players and, since January 1943, the Sadlers Wells Opera and Ballet Companies. At the same time 65 different art exhibitions have been taken to over 320 towns in the British Isles, either by C.E.M.A. alone or by the British Institute of Adult Education for C.E.M.A.

Here it is only possible to hint at the breadth and variety of the work undertaken, but a full and detailed list of all the activities, as well as accounts and balance sheet, are contained in the pamphlet. Particularly worthy of comment are the conditions of association with the Council for musical and theatrical organisations. The Council protects itself by appointing an assessor to attend all directors' meetings, obtaining advance information on all projects and programmes, and reserving the right to investigate the financial position of any such company. It also reserves the right to withdraw support from any project of which it does not approve.

A most important provision is that of Condition (4c) for the Association of Orchestras and (8) of those for Theatrical Companies. To quote the latter: 'All surplus funds accruing to a company (not working under a charitable trust) as a result of work carried out in association with C.E.M.A. shall be applied only to such purposes and for such objects as the Council may from time to time in writing consent.' The Council is prepared to enter into association with 'certain non-profit-making orchestras'.

It would appear that in C.E.M.A. Great Britain has found the best method of subsidising and supporting the three major arts. The nation generally approves, and if we are to judge by the ovations audiences have provided to date, odd claims that people are compelled to pay for what they do not want apply to very few. One feels confident in saying that C.E.M.A. has come to stay. In time, ways may be found to give fresh impetus to the remaining arts—that should be one item on the lists for reconstruction. For the time being, it is not too soon for a little sincere congratulation, and enough concrete support of the Council's efforts to confound its critics. To develop a healthy audience for art is the surest way to stimulate the artist.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

A LITTLE WAR IN CHITRAL

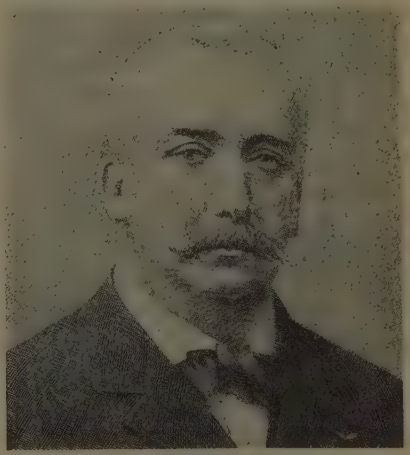
MARCH brought with it a very disagreeable present in the shape of a little war on the north-west frontier of India, which entails the movement of an army of 14,000 men across 200 miles of very difficult country. The dispute in Chitral which has led to the necessity for this expedition is one of those incidents of frontier policy which, with the best intentions in the world, no Government seems to be able to avoid. Chitral lies outside our dominions, but as the Suzerain of the State of Kashmir our authority counts for much in the region round about. Our policy has hitherto been to recognise the *de facto* ruler. The late Mehtar having been killed, his successor appealed for recognition. Before this was accorded him, Dr. Robertson was sent to inquire and report. Meantime another chief, Umra Khan, pushing his own claims, surrounded Dr. Robertson and cut him off. It is to rescue Dr. Robertson the relief column is now marching.

SLATIN BEY'S ESCAPE FROM KHARTOUM

FRANCE is preoccupied with her Madagascar expedition, and President Faure does not seem to be the man who is likely to destroy the peace of the world for the sake of a malarial march in the province of the Bahr-el-Gazelle. Two other incidents have combined to direct public attention to those remote regions which lie between the headquarters of the Congo and the Nile. One is the publication of the memoirs of Sir Samuel Baker, which are stuffed full with warnings to all and sundry as to the importance of the Upper Nile to the overlords of Egypt. The other is the romantic escape of Slatin Bey, the Austrian officer who before Gordon went to Khartoum reigned as satrap in the Bahr-el-Gazelle, and who for the last ten years and more has been a prisoner of the Mahdi. Slatin is a young man, not yet forty, and his career, if he could wield a pen as well as he can fight, would furnish excellent material for a marvellous romance. Slatin is a man of resource and of small scruple. When in command of his province he unhesitatingly confessed Mohammedanism and abjured Christianity, counting the increase of the confidence on the part of his followers well worth while a creed which he held but lightly.

THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES

WHILE in the west of Europe there are all these preparations for the opening of the Kiel Canal, there is in the west of Asia a curious lethargic calm which not even the continually renewed instalments of Armenian atrocities seem able to disturb. Prince Lobanoff is said to have given the Slavs of the Balkans sharply to understand that Russia intends to stand no nonsense in the shape of revolutionary movements directed against the peace of the Ottoman Empire, and she is certainly not showing any disposition to do anything in the highlands of Armenia. Public opinion daily waxes more and more indignant as the details come to hand of the way in which the Armenians have been tortured, and massacred, but so far nothing has come of it all, and there does not seem to be much prospect of improvement in those regions. Column after column of gory 'copy' is served up, until the horrors have begun to pall upon the jaded palate, and the reader, scanning the sheet at breakfast, wonders if any new variety of torment remains to be discovered. The appetite for the abnormal fiendish and monstrous display of ingenuity in torture is one which is apt to grow by indulging it. If there is anything in auto-suggestion, the result of dwelling continuously day after day upon the most fiendish cruelties which savage races can inflict upon each other is not likely to improve the moral tone of mankind.



M. FELIX FAURE, *President of the French Republic*

SCIENCE FRONT

A FEMININE TRICK

MEN at Harvard are using an interesting method to counter the Gypsy moth menace. The moth is a great agricultural pest, destroying fruit and ruining shade and woodland trees. The female of the species walks about, but does not use her wings, all the flying being done by the males who travel miles to an unmated female. She signals to them the fact that she is ready to mate by releasing a scent into the air from the tip of her body, and although it does not make much impression on the human nose, the male moth can smell it a long way off. If the female can pick up a male in this way, then so can an enterprising entomologist. If he baits traps with the female scent, he will collect all the males from miles around and prevent mating, and the pest will be abolished.

So the Harvard workers have been trying to find out what scent the female uses. So far they have not quite got there, but they know it is a fatty substance which they can extract from the tip of the body of a young female with benzene, and the stuff will keep in a bottle and has proved very successful in experimental traps. When we know what it is, chemists may be able to make it in large amounts in the laboratory, and the Gypsy moth's days will be numbered.

AT THE BOTTOM OF THE SEA

THE explorers of the future have a great job before them, for four-fifths of the earth's surface is still completely unknown territory—the four-fifths covered by the seas and oceans of the world. So far no systematic investigation has ever been made of the bottom of the sea, and there is no doubt that interesting geology and biology, perhaps even archæology, await the first explorers. Even a fairly shallow sea like the Mediterranean, which appeared on the earth's surface after man was already in being, has never been properly surveyed in detail. Partly this has been due to lack of interest even among maritime nations like ourselves. It is surprising to find, for instance, that neither Oxford nor Cambridge maintains a marine biological station anywhere in the world. More important, in some ways, has been the lack of inexpensive apparatus. Diving outfits and bathyspheres, such as the glass-walled submarine used by Dr. William Beebe, are costly things, of limited application into the bargain.

However, the position in this regard is now beginning to improve, and somebody has just invented a fairly simple underwater camera which will go down 100 fathoms. It is thrown overboard, ballast causing it to sink until its hanging trigger touches bottom. This starts the mechanism which will then take a series of flashlight photographs at predestined times until the film is used up, when the ballast is cast off and the camera rises to the surface and floats ready for collection. A compass and a drift indicator are incorporated and photographed at the same time, so that some indication of the place where each photograph is taken can be recorded.

With this camera it is possible to take censuses of the fish population, since it is too small to cause them much disturbance—unlike a diving bell, or a diver. The discovery of ripples in the sand 97 fathoms below sea-level has also shown that sea currents are active even at this depth, and daily changes in the ripple contours mean that the tides move the bottom too. The camera obviously has other practical possibilities: it could be sent down, in place of a human diver, to inspect the underwater parts of piers and jetties, for instance. '100 Fathoms Down' would make a good outside broadcast for the B.B.C. Television Service, when it begins again. But, as with all these things, the basic cause of slow development on this front is lack of money. Given adequate financial support, the brains and the devices will be forthcoming, and the bottom of the sea will yield up its secrets. Who knows, perhaps we shall discover Atlantis?

MORE NEW DRUGS?

MYCOLOGY has recently become one of the most important branches of botany from the practical standpoint, for two totally dissimilar reasons. Moulds and fungi are important pests attacking fruit, plants, cloth and all kinds of manufactured goods. In the hot, moist atmosphere of the tropics they spring up overnight and spread like wildfire, and therefore demand a notice in any consideration of supply for the war in the Far East. In fact, for that war, not only must materials satisfactorily used in Europe be specially protected against biological attack if they are to be of any use, but also against the great heat, which by itself is sufficient to make things as various as explosives and birth-control appliances deteriorate rapidly. The second

importance of moulds arises from the discovery that some of them make a substance poisonous to a number of disease bacteria; and the development of penicillin has stimulated a wide search amongst the whole range of moulds and harmless bacteria (which outnumber the disease-producers by ten to one) in the hope that some of them produce other chemicals, which will kill penicillin-resistant germs.

The results on the whole have been disappointing, though there has been a brief note in the American periodical *Science* to the effect that a substance lethal to the bacteria of tuberculosis has been found. If further work substantiates this claim, it may prove the most important medical discovery of the century. Tuberculosis of one kind or another is a common disease—it carries off something like three thousand children annually in Great Britain alone, and we have no drug against it at present. The sulphonamides, and penicillin, are powerless against it; at present nothing can be done.

Better worked out, and one of the most hopeful recent discoveries, is Gramicidin S, discovered by Prof. Gause, Dr. Brazhnikova, and their collaborators in Moscow (the 'S' of the name stand for Soviet, and Gramicidin is a compound word, the 'cidin' as in suicide meaning killer, and Gran indicating the kinds of bacteria killed—certain sorts distinguished by the Danish bacteriologist Gram). This substance is produced by harmless bacteria living in Russian soil, and can be separated from them and purified. It is a polypeptide which crystallises in colourless needles soluble in chloroform and in alcohol. Tests have shown that it will kill the same germs as penicillin, including the causative organism of gas gangrene, but it is better than penicillin against staphylococci, which commonly infect wounds. Experiments have also been made on rats specially infected with various germs; Gramicidin S has been able to save the lives of most of those animals treated with it, and the dose necessary to do this is only about one hundredth of that required to kill a rat. Finally, it has given good results on over 500 patients in Russian hospitals.

All this is good. Whether it is good enough will be decided by further experience with it, here and in America as well as in Russia. For, impressive as the announcement of its effect is, the trial is still on the small size, and later work may prove it less important. Let us hope, on the contrary, that future results will only confirm its value.

1
1893
Mrs. S., age 65, bedridden, imbecile from Myxoedema of 20 years' standing.
Case reported B.M.J., 6 Jan. 1894; 21 July 1897

2.
1893
Mrs. S., after five weeks' treatment with Thyroid Tabloids. The mental condition is as much improved as the bodily state

3
1895
Mrs. S., after fifteen months' treatment with Thyroid Tabloids. The re-growth of the hair a special feature

4
1923
Mrs. S., aged 94, after nearly thirty years' treatment. Health normal. Happy and mentally active.
Died January 1924. Age over 94 years. Case reported again, B.M.J., 4 Oct. 1924

BOOK OF **TOMORROW!**

PARANORMAL COGNITION

BY LAURENCE J. BENDIT

REVIEWED BY BRUCE BAIN

In the rehabilitation of post-war Europe no function will be more important than that of the practising psychologist, or psychiatrist. For although we must reconstruct our industries, we must also rebuild the human personality; the Fascist destruction has left its most terrible scars on the European mind. We cannot now apprehend the full extent of the damage brought about by this protracted war. The repercussions will be endless, not only in political and economic life, but in the conscious and subconscious mind. It is in Germany, of course, that the disease is most virulent: the psychic disasters that will succeed the military defeat can only be dimly imagined. None of us is immune. All nations have been ravaged by the neurosis and psychosis of this war, and no engineering task, no national recovery is more vital than the task of healing the armies of neurotics who will inhabit post-war Europe. Disorders on the psychic plane can never be corrected by material force, and it is urgent that the doctors and psychiatrists who must heal Europe should work not only with public support, but with adequate equipment. As the engineer must calculate the stresses of steel in his construction of a bridge, so the practising psychologist must be expert in the conflicting tensions of the mind. He must not work from a partial knowledge; he must not carry about his pet instrument of therapy, for he too has a bridge to build—from the grotesque exaggerated landscape of neurosis to the normal integrated life.

This is a long preface to a short book, but Dr. Bendit's study is significant precisely because it is an important addition to that indispensable equipment of the psychiatrist. Paranormal cognition is the term he has chosen to describe those means of perception beyond the usual channels of the five senses—phenomena whose reality is now established by scientific investigation, but whose significance has not yet been fully estimated by scientific theory. Paranormal means, simply, 'just beyond the normal'. The phenomena which Dr. Bendit groups together under this label were previously relegated to the realm of the 'supernatural', and treated with contempt as superstition and fraud. The existence of these means of perception (the 'psi function' is the author's convenient term) and their importance to mankind has long been recognised in the East, but only in the present century, with the rapid development of mental science, have they occupied any place in Western thought. Science has, to a great extent, ignored the largely unexplored field of psychic research, and even the transparent reality of telepathic phenomena was disputed. (J. B. Rhine's experiments in extra-sensory perception, or E.S.P., were a successful demonstration of the wide distribution of these functions.) Dr. Bendit gives the instance of Freud, who took ten years to admit the occurrence of telepathy, and who then admitted that it was 'for fear of our scientific world-view being menaced by it.'

In this short and very intelligent thesis Dr. Bendit goes a long way beyond Freud's tentative admissions. He relates the phenomena of the 'psi function', or extra-sensory perception, to the work of the psychiatrist or psychotherapist, and briefly suggests its importance in scientific theory. His scope is limited. He writes as a psychotherapist, and deliberately restricts himself to psychological analysis. He does not examine the hypotheses of the spiritualist, nor does he allow himself to enter the field of philosophical speculation, but his strict honesty and the very narrowness of his limits make this book an annexe to the disparate mass of psychological theory which it would be dangerous to ignore. An entire revaluation of our frame of life and thought is inevitable, confronted even by the slender evidence of paranormal cognition collected by those few scientists who have entered the field. The development of this research, and its extension to the work of the medium, the cult of Yoga, and the more understanding analysis of dreams, will produce incalculable results for humanity. Dr. Bendit is modest in his claims, but his book points the way, for the significance of these functions is especial in the work of the psychotherapist.

The therapist or psychiatrist is concerned with the patient's private fantasy, his apparently illusory and hallucinatory experience, but, as the author says, 'if the patient's intuitions or

DR. FREUD *makes his first flight at seventy*

imagination should prove to be part, not altogether of a subjective, autogenous world, but in some cases of a world existing *per se* and outside the individual's own psyche and perceived by the "psi function", in much the same way as physical objects are perceived, then a new problem arises in the evaluation of the material produced by the patient.'

We are confronted, of course, by the difficulty of distinction between subjective hallucination and paranormal cognition, but it is a difficulty which can be surmounted, and which does not justify the rejection out of hand of the indisputable evidence of the 'psi function's' activities. Moreover, as Dr. Bendit says, it is possible that the therapist telepathically impresses his own views upon the patient, so that the equally successful results of conflicting schools of psychiatry are due not to the fact that the patient has 'entered the true faith', but that he has seen the root of his trouble in 'terms which fitted the particular Credo of his analyst.' The importance of this fact can hardly be exaggerated. Dr. Bendit, moreover, suggests with some diffidence and with the authority of Freud, that these instincts have their origin in the life of primitive man, and that they have been repressed by the ego, as man has evolved from mass-consciousness. They must, he proposes, be subject to control and intelligent direction, or they may become 'something of a menace to the trend of evolution', by threatening to drag us back to the stage of mass-consciousness.

The implications of this conception of the mind are endless, and cannot be listed in this brief essay, but to accept its validity—which seems imperative—is to discard the provisional dogmas of the pioneer psychologists such as Freud and Jung. To their work we must always pay tribute but, as pioneers in an immense field of research, their conclusions were tentative, and were not susceptible of erection into a final philosophy. Too many of the fundamental facts of psychic life were omitted. These Dr. Bendit supplies, and relates to practical treatment of the mentally disordered. In the work of healing Europe and of building a new synthesis of European faith and philosophy, the phenomena of paranormal cognition must be considered of paramount importance. To Dr. Bendit's thesis there must be many alterations and amplifications, but his book must play a part in the foundation of a reintegrated Europe after this war.

NEW BOOKS

POLAND BETWEEN TWO WARS

By Professor Ferdynand Zweig. *Secker & Warburg.* 10s. 6d.

An understanding of the economic and social issues in Poland is an indispensable background to the present crisis in Polish affairs—a crisis which seems to be recurrent. The study of Polish economic history between 1918 and 1939 by Professor Ferdynand Zweig (Lecturer in the University of Cracow) is therefore a timely publication.

Poland, an international highway between East and West, has always been a buffer state between strong neighbours, and its geographical position and past history of partitions account largely for its present problems.

In 1939 Poland had a population of thirty-five millions, over two-thirds of whom were engaged in agriculture. Its workers and peasants had a very low standard of living, by our standards, and like Ireland, it was always a nation of emigrants.

Dr. Zweig describes how, in spite of political and international difficulties, the Poles were able to achieve substantial economic and social progress in the inter-war period; they developed communications and built the port of Gdynia; industrialised Central Poland, and introduced agrarian reform and social service schemes.

Poland will emerge from this war with whole tracts of its land and industry devastated, with its population scattered—many have been deported, and more have been murdered by the Germans. The tasks of reconstruction will be formidable, and Professor Zweig indicates some of the lines on which it should be tackled.

His book is, on its own showing, not 'propagandist', but there seems to be a tendency to slide over some of the more unpleasant happenings that are associated with the periods of dictatorship through which Poland passed.

MARGARET STEWART

THE BIRTH OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

By Maurice Edelmann. *Penguin Special.* 9d.

Mr. Edelmann's account of the genesis of the Fourth Republic is not happily named, since the Fourth Republic is as yet only conceived. That fact imposes a limitation on his work, further enhanced by his valiant effort to compress the story of what happened behind the scenes between the landing in North Africa and the landing in Normandy into 122 pages.

Inevitably the book is sketchy. It lacks not only cohesion but even connection. And it omits some of the things we should most like to know. The facts of the assassination of Admiral Darlan, for instance, are passed over altogether. But this loose string of impressions and ideas does contain much that is stimulating and some things that are valuable.

Mr. Edelmann is at his best when he describes the tussle between the Conservative, militarist and clerical France incarnate in General Giraud, and beloved by the State Department, Big Business, the editors of *The Tablet* and the Dynamic France of the Resistance that apparently reflected the real feelings of the French people. His own standpoint is detached—too much so at times—but his Gaullism is evident all through. As an admirer of the General, he is impressed by his virtues, but aware of his weaknesses. He sets off an account of his refusal to accept the milk prescribed for him when he lay ill 'because the Algiers children were short of milk' by this delightful footnote: 'I called on the Commissioner for Information and explained to him that in Britain people would like to see pictures of the General engaged in other activities than accepting and giving salutes. This was a mistake on my part.'

As a champion of France, Mr. Edelmann deserves attention. He makes a forceful case when he attacks those (mainly American) critics of her inefficiency by contrasting the resources at the disposal of the United States with those that the Fighting French could command, and he puts up a spirited defence of 'the proud unwillingness of the French to behave like poor relations saved from bankruptcy by a remittance.' But as a Frenchman he is aware of his country's failings, its venal press, its corrupt politicians and its utterly selfish rich men.

Valuable, too, are the author's pictures of life in Algiers just after the landings: his analysis of the Provisional Government which, without representing France, does by general consent contrive to 'reflect it'; his portraits of the men of the new France from the Royalist Astier to the Communist Grenier. And valuable, above all, is the respect which he makes us feel for the men who have done such hard work so well, and his vibrant faith in the future, a faith which is shared by all of us who have been privileged to be present, even in the humblest capacity, at 'the birth of the Fourth Republic' on its liberated soil.

GEORGE EDINGER

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By Jan Cech and J. E. Mellon. *Lindsay Drummond.* 15s.

Probably no public utterance made by any statesman between the two wars will be better remembered than Mr. Chamberlain's sinister reference in September 1938 to 'a quarrel in a far-away country between peoples of whom we know nothing.' This book is not an explicit reply to that admission; but a good book on Czechoslovakia was needed and this one should find its way on to the shelves of every public library worth the name.

The authors begin with an historical sketch tracing the chequered history of their country from its nebulous birth in Moravia and Bohemia in the ninth century, through the peaceful and prosperous reign of Charles IV, the stormy Thirty Years' War, when the country was never free from the threat of invasion, to the hated domination of the Hapsburgs and, finally, to the modern Republic we knew, and shall know again. There is only one criticism: that they might well have made this chapter longer and less sketchy.

The Republic was founded on 28 October 1918, after Masaryk's Proclamation in Washington: 'The Czechoslovak State shall be a Republic. In constant endeavour for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion and science, literature and art, speech, the press, and the right of assembly and petition.' And these principles Masaryk, as President, upheld until his retirement in 1937, at the age of 85, a great and devoted servant of his country. The Republic, in a very real sense, owed its existence to his efforts which were never relaxed, even in exile. Perhaps it is as well that he did not live to see the Munich Agreement, the entry into Prague, the annihilation of Lidice.

The rest of the book is a general guide to the country and its people, and a reminder of all that has been achieved in twenty years of autonomy. The text is illustrated with some superb photographs.

RICHARD WILLIAMS

THE NAVAL HERITAGE

By David Mathew. *Collins.* 12s. 6d.

This book is mainly an account of the professional evolution of the naval officer of today from his nineteenth, eighteenth, seventeenth and sixteenth century predecessors, with special reference to their social, political, religious, and economic position in the life of the nation. As is natural, most space is given to the Navy of the eighteenth century and the Napoleonic Wars. Here we read once more the well-known stories of Hawke, Keppel and Palliser, Kempenfelt, Sandwich, Rodney, the Hoods, the Parkers, Nelson, Dundonald, Gambier, and Broke, and many others besides, but viewed from a new and interesting angle, namely the significance of these men and their careers in terms of the Navy as a national institution. The author's comments cover an extremely wide field, and are characterised by keen personal observation of the Navy of our own day, born of sea experience, plus much philosophical and worldly wisdom. The reader is continually delighted and surprised by brilliant asides and a rich discursiveness. Indeed, the author's only fault seems to be an occasional tendency to read more than is warranted into the evidence quoted. This is particularly the case in his treatment of St. Vincent, whose character he appears to have misread on the erroneous assumption that St. Vincent's early career is not well documented.

On the whole, I regard his chapters on the Navy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the most valuable part of the book. Here, by the skilful use of reputable but little-read biographies, he has given real life and continuity to one of the most important and formative periods in British naval history. Inevitably the treatment tends to be somewhat oversimplified. Nevertheless, we should be grateful for so able and interesting a proof that the years 1815–1914, or perhaps I should say 1806–1914, were something more than a century of anti-climax to Trafalgar.

BRIAN TUNSTALL

BATTLE FOR HEALTH

By Stephen Taylor, M.D. *Nicholson & Watson.* 5s.

Dr. Taylor is on the side of the angels. He recognises that disease and illness are not a necessary corollary of civilisation but an index of the life we lead. The record of medicine in the service of man is a noble one; the author recalls the outstanding figures of the past: Harvey, Hunter, Pasteur, Ehrlich, Pavlov and many others. Perhaps the future will owe less to individual discovery and achievement than to the corporate effort of a profession which is conscious that the battle of health cannot be fought in isolation, with the weapons of science alone; disease is, very largely, a social problem. This well-produced book is worth buying, although some of the pictorial charts are too complicated: they have to be *read*, not looked at.

RICHARD WILLIAMS

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WITHOUT MY WIG

By Judge Sir Thomas Artemus Jones. *Hugh Evans & Sons, Ltd.*, The Brython Press, Liverpool. 8s. 6d.

Publishers are usually very shy about volumes of essays and *belles lettres* since bitter experience has taught them that the public for such things is a small, though admittedly a faithful, one. A word of thanks, therefore, to the enterprising publishers, who remind us in a prefatory note that Sir Thomas Jones died in October 1943, and so was unable to see his book through the press—'the reader is therefore asked to pardon any errors which the author himself might have corrected.'

The nineteen essays which make up this volume are mainly historical and legal in character, the subject-matter ranging from the Welsh origins of the Tudors and Oliver Cromwell's Coat-of-Arms to the law of treason, flogging as a penal method, debtors, criminal appeal, and the decline and fall of the pillory. There is an illuminating description of a murder trial in Mexico which reads like a passage from a Graham Greene novel and serves as a reminder of the days when the judge was a newspaper reporter in Wales, with a reputation and a name for his lively style and keen interest in people and events. He was one of the defending counsel in the trial of Sir Roger Casement (1916), and his study of this extremely important case is valuable for its sidelights on Casement's personality and character.

It is inevitable that the scholarly type of lawyer should be drawn at some time or other in his career to a study of the seventeenth century. The opinions of a trained lawyer like Sir Thomas Jones on the constitutional battles between Parliament and the Stuarts merit close attention. The trial of John Bunyan and our last case of witchcraft are treated anew; there is a study of Judge David Jenkins, the only English judge who was sentenced to death, and of Major-General Harrison the regicide. Sir Thomas suggests that the majority of lawyers were Royalist in sympathy when the Great Rebellion broke out, but that they became estranged when Charles committed the fatal error of going to the House of Commons to arrest the Five Members. Add to this the fact that Coke and Selden lent their learning and prestige to the Parliamentary cause. Contemporary echoes of these great events are not lost on the author who remarks of Lord Chief Justice Coke: 'His sturdy assertion of the supremacy of the law against James I must spring to the minds of many today when they read of what is happening in foreign countries.'

AUBREY NOAKES

THEY WERE THERE

Edited by Curt Riess. *Putnam, New York.* $5.

This is a history of the war (to the end of 1943) and of its origins as told by correspondents of the American Press. The hundred and thirty or so contributors are represented chiefly by extracts from their books; the anthology would have gained in immediacy had the editor used their filed despatches instead of their tidier afterthoughts. Leland Stowe's account here, for instance, of the German entry into Oslo is a tame piece compared with the story he filed that day.

'All the same, there are splendid stories here, splendidly told, and a bird's eye view of American reporting at its best (it would be particularly unfair to pick out names when so many are so good and some are my friends and colleagues). At its second best, too: Walter Winchell, with his bromides separated by dots . . . and the overpraised Ernie Pyle's homespun sentimentality.

The editor's long introduction is surprising in its *naiveté*. It was American correspondents alone, Mr. Riess believes, who 'showed the English Tories, led by Mr. Chamberlain, or leading Mr. Chamberlain, striving at any cost (which others were to pay) for peace in their time, peace and the *status quo*', who 'found out, long before the actual collapse occurred, that the French Republic was doomed.'

Mr. Riess has the grace to mention the *Manchester Guardian*, but that is the only exception he names to a charge that ninety per cent of European newspapermen, in the nineteen-thirties, 'betrayed their profession', concealing the truth and their knowledge of it through indifference, through anxiety for their jobs, or for bribes. None of the responsible contributors to Mr. Riess's book would agree that British journalism is as corrupt as that, or that United States foreign policy between the wars is so guiltless as to be ignored in any serious work that mentions this war's origins.

For that matter, though Alan Moorehead is included as the only correspondent of a British paper, others among the best of Mr. Riess's contributors are British-born or British-trained or both—M. W. Fodor, Gedye, Richard McMillan, Ralph Parker. None of them, and few of the others, deserves the implication in this piece of editorial innocence: 'He' (Ralph Barnes) 'was one of the truly great journalists of our time because he was one of the most conscientious. When he was assigned to a new country, he would arrive there with an assortment of books on the history of the country, its particular problems, the character of its natives.'

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HENRY MOORE:
SCULPTURE AND DRAWINGS
With Introduction by Herbert Read. *Lund Humphries & Co.* 3 gns.

'The aim of a sculptor like Henry Moore,' writes Herbert Read in his introduction to this sumptuous and exhaustive book, 'is to represent his conceptions in the forms natural to the materials he is working in.' This is an admirable puritanism, and none the less admirable for being by now necessary, accepted, and widely understood. But pushed too far, it can become a severe limitation to a sculptor who, released by the camera, like all his contemporaries, from representationalism, must cast about for forms in which to express himself. For too often his material is allowed not only to condition but to dictate the final shape. Much of Moore's work —and some of it, one must admit, not the least satisfying—is, or seems to be, a release simply by the artist of the shape imprisoned in the rough block. It is the stone's work, and the sculptor has been the agent merely.

Moore, though, is too vigorous an artist to become a slave to his materials and has worked as often the other way about: setting himself the problem and then finding the appropriate material in which to solve it. And if some of those works in which he has permitted himself a partly representational human or animal shape as a clue, a theme, or a point of departure are not always so completely successful as his purely abstract shapes, they are at any rate, one feels, partial failures if at all only because they were attempts more worth making. This is not, of course, to say that in all his abstract works Moore has been subservient to his material, nor that all his partly representational work is of greater importance or significance than his abstract.

In both kinds of work there are the same clearly marked influences. Everything that Moore has made reflects his passionate interest—his obsession, almost—in the shape of worn pebbles, of bones, of shells, of holes in solids, and of mammary swellings; his place in the sculptural tradition that lapsed with the late Greeks was reborn in the Gothic and Romanesque sculptors of Northern Europe, lapsed again to be reborn again in Rodin and Maillol and purified anew by Brancusi; and, thirdly, the influence of Aztec, African, and other primitive sculpture.

Throughout his work there is a vital and sensuous austerity, and the handsome and handsomely ordered plates in this book, which covers the whole body of his work (even, unnecessarily, the sketchiest note-book doodlings and most trifling maquettes) picture, as they should, his most important pieces from every angle so that they can be considered, as nearly as possible, in the round.

Moore's drawings, too, are fully represented, and if one wishes to measure the differences between Moore and Epstein as sculptors—differences noticeable enough but not so easily defined or psychologically explained—a comparison between the heavy sculptured-seeming figures in his drawings of miners and tube-shelterers with Epstein's flamboyant flower pieces may give the clue.

A long, illustrated introduction by Herbert Read—learned, enlightening, a valuable essay on art history in itself—is followed by three short essays of Moore's own, a conjunction which proves yet again how much better always painters and sculptors write than their critics.

CYRIL RAY

WHY NOT TRUST THE TORIES?
By 'Celticus' (Aneurin Bevan, M.P.). *Gollancz.* 2s. 6d.

As the battle for Germany enters its closing stages, preliminary skirmishing in the battle for Westminster shows a rising tempo. Mr. Ralph Assheton whips up his flagging side, looks out some new bloodstock to invigorate the team, and erects a few carved turnip heads on poles,

labelled 'Socialism', 'Nationalisation' and what-not, to curdle the blood of the populace. Meanwhile, some devastating sharpshooting is being done on the other side by Mr. Gollancz's yellow-backed booklets, the latest of which comes from the pen of that strong Commons personality, Mr. Aneurin Bevan.

Why not trust the Tories? To anyone who has lived through the last twenty-five years, that question, it seems, should present little difficulty in answering; but memories are short and pre-election eloquence and promises apt to confuse only too easily, so Mr. Bevan's reminder of the Khaki Election of 1918, and of what happened after, is not redundant. He follows this with a brief analysis of Tory activities in the immediate past, particularly in relation to Social Insurance, unemployment and housing, and concludes with a nice summary of the mechanism of the Tory mind.

The traditional Tory (who may, of course, be a very fine fellow outside politics) does not, in Mr. Bevan's view, look upon himself as the people's representative, and the various activities and organisations summed up in the phrase 'modern democracy' are alien to his mentality. This may seem a somewhat sweeping statement, but the truth of it is not so easy to refute when one studies not the Tory's speeches, but his record.

RAYMOND ANDERSON

REMEMBERING MY GOOD FRIENDS

By Mary Agnes Hamilton. *Cape.* 12s. 6d.

Many of us have long observed Mary Agnes Hamilton as among the dozen most brilliant and outstanding women of our time.

This book, which is offered more as a set of personal sketches than as an autobiography, supports such judgment. She is certainly the most versatile woman I have ever known. She has been a university lecturer, journalist (on *The Economist*, among other periodicals), a very competent and, to some, an exciting novelist, M.P., a member of Royal Commissions, a delegate to the League of Nations Assembly, a 'Brains Truster', a Governor of the B.B.C., Alderman of the L.C.C., a frequent lecturer in the U.S.A., a persistent European traveller, a candid biographer of the great, and so on. Touching life at all these angles, Mrs. Hamilton has met a vast number of men and women in high places—and low places—and she has made friends with most. In fact, the extent of her circle is one of the most remarkable and engrossing features of this book.

Her father was a distinguished Scots professor, Robert Adamson. She was at Newnham with the great Mrs. Sedgwick. On *The Economist* she worked under F. W. Hirst, then the outstanding financial journalist of his day. Entering the Labour movement on the eve of the first world war, she became, quickly, the intimate of most of its leaders. Nobody knew Ramsay MacDonald better, and nobody has ever given a truer assessment of him than that which appears here—just, if not generous. Twenty years ago she wrote his life. Her reorientation of values is a sobering experience for anybody given to hero-worship.

Mrs. Hamilton is. Her own explanation—a good and laudable one—is that she started life with a background that gave her a bias towards seeing the good rather than the bad in the human character. If one may judge from this book, she was lucky, and others with a similar experience will be lucky too. For there is no doubt that it has been the principal factor in helping her to create and gather around her a rich galaxy of friends that must consume the more critical and less gregarious among us with envy.

But Mrs. Hamilton must allow that she is not destitute of this critical faculty. In addition to Ramsay MacDonald, she dissects with aplomb and skill Viscount Simon, Lord Reith, Oswald Mosley, H. N. Brailsford, a former editor, and others less significant, but she does so, save in one or two instances, without rancour or ill-will.

She is best, however, when she can praise, as in the case of the late Arthur Henderson to whom, one must add, she gives no more than justice; Clement Attlee, to whom she was Parliamentary Private Secretary, and who emerges in a new light, as do Hugh Dalton and the Webbs.

Mrs. Hamilton forgets nothing of significance. This is an exciting and absorbing record of our time, set down by a woman who has had unique opportunities not only of observing the game at closest quarters, but also of playing, on occasions, in the scrum. She has the moral courage to tell how, after 1931, she felt bound to retract from the pacifist philosophy and how, searching herself in the light of the unexampled witness of the people of Britain and of Europe during the dark years of Hitler's war, she moved from agnosticism to belief.

This is why, perhaps, she feels able to close on a note of optimism which will certainly be transferred to any but the most incurably disillusioned.

GEORGE A. GREENWOOD

HENRY WILLIAMSON

The Sun in the Sands

Henry Williamson says he believes in the old saying that a man changes every seven years. In 1914 he went to war, fought in the trenches south of Ypres, and took part in the Christmas Day fraternisation, which he declares altered his entire way of thinking. Seven years later, in 1921, at the age of 24, he went to live in a Devon cottage near the coast. The story of what befell there is told in his new book, *The Sun in the Sands*.

Seven years later, in 1928, he was awarded the Hawthornden Prize for Literature. In the succeeding seven years most of his writing, he says, declined; but that phase ended with the publication in 1935 of *Salar the Salmon*. Seeking what seemed to be a necessary change of life and scene, he migrated the following year to Norfolk, having set himself to reclaim a derelict tract of land. He hoped by hard physical work to simplify his mental life. For seven years he worked as pioneer and labourer, and the farm was classed an 'A' farm.

With this achievement, coinciding with the seven-year phase, Henry Williamson felt the urge to write again, equal with his fervour in 1921. A sequel to *The Story of a Norfolk Farm* was no sooner completed than the third and final volume of this Norfolk trilogy was begun and finished. These volumes will be published some time in the future.

Messrs. Faber and Faber acquired the rights of several Devon books, with a view to reprinting them; but the author wanted to rewrite them first. Within a month, *Tales of a Devon Village* and *Life in a Devon Village* appeared in our office, for publication (it is hoped) some time in 1945. Scrutinised sharply in the light of his practical farming experience, Mr. Williamson told us that he believes they are his best work.

Meanwhile, the book of the moment is *The Sun in the Sands*. It tells the story of the young writer whose emotions involve him in 'difficult' situations with various 'characters' both men and women, who come into his life. The scene moves from an unspoiled Devon where a motor-car was an unusual sight and a bather has miles of sands to himself day after day in summer, to the heavy ploughlands of Essex, and thence to the High Pyrenees, where a tragic climax reaffirms the writer in his own integrity.

Faber & Faber ***8s. 6d.***

SPRINGBOARD

Poems 1941–1944, by Louis MacNeice. *Faber & Faber*. 6s.

In *Springboard* MacNeice has helped towards a settlement of the quarrel which has for a couple of centuries divided poetry, and has had such a detrimental effect on literature—the dispute between clarity and sense of rhythm.

Good examples of these two schools have been, on one side, Mallarmé, a true follower of the Abbé Bremond; and on the other, Hérédia, whose love of clarity went so far as to forbid him the slightest originality of idea.

MacNeice has achieved a perfect synthesis. For his poems are both original and understandable. 'Prayer Before Birth' is new, both in idea and in metre, and possesses a philosophical meaning which is actual without being topical. Thus when he touches upon problems such as Social Security and the mechanistic world, he does so universally, and so will never be out of date.

'Schizophrenia' is a good psychological study:

'Hearing offstage the taps filling the bath
The set dissolves to childhood—'

is a good beginning to a true picture of the working of a split mind.

'The Kingdom' can be considered as the *pièce de résistance*. For it is well constructed and full of happy comparisons.

'His face, like Cotswold stone, severe but warm' is a living image of English grey but benevolent solidity.

The third part is, perhaps, the most human; and will be the most appreciated.

The author has been less successful in his set of Theophrastian characters. Baudelaire has done all this before. And although *Les Chats* and *Hiboux* are better than MacNeice's poem, 'The Mixer', they still cannot be included amongst his best works.

Two poems by MacNeice on the blitz and the ordeal of London, such as 'Brother Fire', already seem to us out of date; and are an additional proof of the danger of topicality in poetry.

MacNeice was born in a bad period for poets, which has included the war and its effect on personality, the growth of new interests, the extension of pure art to include social questions, and the constant widening of the literary circle, which now has to include more and more neophytes.

Poetry, which has gone through descriptive, bucolic, romantic and symbolistic periods, must now include the social and scientific worlds.

MacNeice's attempts to take in these new worlds have achieved considerable success.

V. S.

FAR FROM THE LAND and OTHER POEMS

By James Monahan. *Macmillan.* 4s.

It is rarely that one is able to remember whole poems, or even whole stanzas, and of modern work it is an achievement to hold consecutive lines in the memory. Mr. Monahan gives us plenty to remember. He gives us, as he puts it in a remarkably objective poem 'The Soldier', 'the arrow phrase'.

> Then one dog barks—oh! it pierces the easy day,
> pierces the langour of his deserted brain;
> it came from the valley, but it came from the house next door—
> that cur's insatiable, shrill unease
> at every footstep by the tattered hedge;
> and his home, its atticked, its forgotten store
> comes tumbling down the stairway of his mind.

All through these poems, the majority of which were written during this war and on active service (Mr. Monahan is a commando officer), we are held by the exact image and can therefore share in the atmosphere evoked. From 'Kentish Lines in War' we watch with the poet:

> An incurious hawk floats, shivers, floats again,
> and rides the evening on a loosened rein.

Mr. Monahan serves no narrow cause; his is that of common humanity, as shown in 'Prisoners' Return'. This volume should be bought by all those who, having dutifully listened to the B.B.C.'s reverential monthly session, still exclaim 'I can't stand these moderns!' It is refreshingly unpretentious.

REGINALD MOORE

WE SHALL EAT AND DRINK AGAIN

A Wine and Food Anthology edited by Louis Golding and André L. Simon. *Hutchinson.* 12s. 6d.

War or no war, the 'Wine and Food Quarterly' has appeared with admirable regularity since it was launched by M. André L. Simon in 1934. *We Shall Eat and Drink Again*, an anthology of contributions, is published to celebrate its tenth birthday. It's a matter of taste, in more ways than one, which of those contributions you prefer, either individually or in combination, for they are presented in 'courses': hors d'œuvre, entrées, roast, dessert.

Many gourmets, I fear, take a certain delight in raising a plate-glass barrier of, shall I call it priggishness, between you and good food. They either keep the whereabouts of their favourite restaurants a dead secret or tantalise you by

'There! That's the sort of thing I want for my bookplate!'
SRL

accounts of food enjoyed in the remote places of the earth, or under conditions which they know you will never be able to recapture. Once you have accepted—or smashed—that barrier, you can find something to 'interest' you in every course of this gastronomes' anthology. In every case the ingredients are good—some distinctly *gras*, others markedly *maigre*—but the cooking and presentation varies. Still, you cannot expect every gourmet to be a cook, and you can learn a lot from the late Maurice Healy's discussion on the boiling of eggs (p. 93).

You may prefer your cheese grated and cooked inside your apple-pie, as described by Kenneth Hare (p. 176); I prefer the contrast of flavour and texture between apple-pie and uncooked cheese. The idea of eating boiled ham and boiled egg at the same time may be as distasteful to you as it was to Alan V. Slater (p. 219); I definitely favour the combination of cold home-fed ham, freshly boiled egg and new bread. It is, I say, a matter of taste.

Are you a sadist? Read Edward Samson on 'Meals and Molars'. Are you the other thing? Then there's 'Porridge or Prunes, Sir?' by E. M. Forster, and G. B. Stern on 'Fasting'. An historian? André L. Simon outlines the history of gastronomy from Esau to Escoffier. A physiologist? Then Edmund Condon can be most illuminating on Noses (p. 229) or the Liver (p. 234) *au choix*. If you like Joad, he's there; so are James Laver, Ann Bridge, Louis Golding, according to taste. My particular 'specials' in this banquet are Hilaire Belloc's 'Advice to a Young Man in the Matter of Wine', which should surely be part of every gourmet's catechism, and Sir Stephen Gaselee's 'Grace during Meat'. Still, *de gustibus* . . . and the menu's long and varied, so make your own choice.

THOMAS WALTON

'Well, I liked it, but of course our tastes may be different'
NEW YORKER

THE GOLDEN FLEECE
By Robert Graves. *Cassell.* 12s. 6d.

When, some ten years ago, Robert Graves published his first historical novel *I, Claudius*, he set a new standard in the writing of this type of historical fiction which I, for one, have ever since used in judging the worth of other novels in this *genre* that come my way. Mr. Graves's latest essay into the past, the story of the voyage of the Argonauts under Jason to recover the Golden Fleece, must have tested his skill even more than the Claudius and Belisarius novels, but the verdict on it can be given without hesitation: it is a careful, clever and completely fascinating piece of writing fully up to his own high standard.

Treating the Argonauts' expedition not as a legend but as though in actual fact it did take place (as indeed it was so treated in the ancient world), Mr. Graves gives reasonable explanations for many things that have hitherto been regarded as feasible only in the realms of mythology—the one-eyed Cyclops, for instance, and the Centaurs. But the voyage loses nothing of its excitement thereby: from the moment the *Argo* sails full of high hopes from Iolcos, to its return some six months later, depleted in numbers but with the Fleece on board, the hold on one's interest never slackens. Mr. Graves's skill is most evident in his portrayal of the Argonauts themselves. Was there ever a more human set of immortals! To bring these mythological heroes to life in so vivid a fashion shows imaginative writing of a high order.

RAYMOND ANDERSON

THE WINDMILL
Edited by Reginald Moore and Edward Lane. *Heinemann.* 6s.

Literary reviews from the start took a gloomy view of the war. One or two, like *Criterion* and *The Cornhill*, threw their hands in early, while *Horizon* gave itself a year's grace. In fact, quite the opposite happened. They flourished on a scale that made not sales, but the paper restriction, their main concern. It is true that none of them compares in quality or influence with the old *Nouvelle Revue Française*, but they are the only market open to the serious young writer.

It has been the bane of all such publications in England that they are run by amateurs who reflect, inescapably, the coterie mind, experimental, sometimes brilliant, but exclusive and out of touch. Bloomsbury is the most parochial place in London, and chaps still gather round the pump! Now, without any preamble, Messrs. Moore and Lane have launched *The Windmill* to appear 'from time to time'. It is too soon to judge the editors' policy; there is no evidence of a pattern, a common background to these varied contributors. Perhaps this is deliberate, but the review will suffer from the lack of it. Neither Arturo Barea nor Elizabeth Bowen is up to standard; there is a flamboyant piece by Henry Miller; Alyse Gregory writes thoughtfully on the function of the critic, and there are one or two good poems. The short stories are unremarkable. We wish the editors good luck and offer one suggestion: the price should be halved.

RICHARD WILLIAMS

THE JOURNAL OF MADAME GIOVANNI
By Alexandre Dumas. *Hammond.* 12s. 6d.

Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, an American scholar, has translated into English for the first time a travel journal published ninety years ago by the author of *Monte Cristo*. Dumas's name appears on the title page of this English edition as it did on the many European editions of the eighteen-fifties, but Dumas cannot have been more than the editor; he had never visited the Pacific, and there is no doubt of the authenticity of these glimpses of Tasmania, Tahiti, New Zealand, and the California of the gold rush. But who 'Madame Giovanni' was, nobody but Dumas seemed to know then, and nobody knows now.

She tells us, though, that she was young, a Frenchwoman, the wife of a Venetian business man. She was observant, too, feminine enough to enjoy recording the devotion of an eccentric English baronet, who followed her and her husband around the South Seas in the uncomfortable ships of the period, humane enough to

study the condition of the convicts in Tasmania and to condemn the jiggery-pokery of the American missionaries at Hawaii. Those parts were incredibly remote at that time; we have few reports of life there and then, and Madame Giovanni is a better and livelier reporter than we could have hoped for.

Why Dumas should have so much credit as he did, and does, for introducing what was admittedly another's work, it is hard to say; the translator has it that it was because of the 'tangy imaginative quality' he gave to the rewriting, a quality not so easily discernible in her own rendering.

CYRIL RAY

'THE TWELFTH'

By J. K. Stanford. *Faber & Faber*. 7s. 6d.

On the eve of 12 August, in his favourite arm-chair at his club, the port-suckled Colonel George Hysteron-Proteron, C.B., J.P., one of the twelve best game shots in the United Kingdom, has an apopletic stroke. He comes to, crouching on his face in a wilderness of scrub, with a beak for a nose, grey-brown feathers for an overcoat, and a set of scaly claws for feet.

The bloodthirsty wish of every anti-field sport enthusiast has come true. The colonel, who is said to have killed 200,000 head of game in his sporting career, has been reincarnated—as a grouse. And, over the rim of the heather, he sees a line of butts and, over the top of the butts, the faces of his friends waiting to put *him* in the game-cart too. What happens next, it'd be unfair to the author to tell. Enough to record that all grouse-eaters—anti-blood sport and otherwise—will enjoy every shot of it.

But don't take it too seriously. If this is meant to be a cautionary tale, the caution is unnecessary. Gun-drunk old birds, like Colonel Hysteron-Proteron, belong to the age of the *Badminton Library*. These days, they're as rare as grouse at a wartime poulterer's.

Still, this is a book with a first-class idea. If the author were as skilled in handling words as he's obviously skilled in handling guns, it might have been a first-class book too. As it is, the text doesn't shine quite so brightly as V. H. Drummond's witty illustrations.

MACDONALD HASTINGS

LATEST FROM U.S.A.

HOPE rises in hearts of 800,000 Washingtonians. Will they be allowed to vote in next Presidential election? Agitation over war ballots to be cast abroad for last Presidential election drew attention to the fact that Washington residents were shut out from participation in Government. Thus the resolution proposing a Constitutional Amendment will be brought before Congress. If it is passed, Washingtonians will have a representation in Congress, and in Electoral College and will no longer suffer what they've long felt to be a serious injustice. Enfranchisement will not make Washington a State—nation's capital will remain 'district'.

The key that is so necessary to transfer pilchards and sardines from tins to serving dish has gone to war. Because of adverse climatic and transportation conditions, United States Army Ordnance Departments developed 'canned bullets'. Machine-gun cartridges were sent to the front in hermetically-sealed metal containers which have to be opened by a key.

HOPE FOR GOLFERS

ABOUT twelve years ago Gene Sarazen created quite a stir by suggesting that women professionals should teach women golfers. Milwaukee's North Shore Country Club has gone one better. Has appointed Hope Seignious, twenty-eight-year-old Detroit girl, to be a golf pro., giving her complete charge of shop sales and repairing golf equipment. She will also give lessons—to men as well as women. Seven times winner of Michigan's Women's Amateur Title, Seignious worked in war plant before deciding to make golf her career. She was Assistant for North Carolina before accepting Milwaukee post.

ALL RIGHT ON PAPER

A HOUSE made from paper that can be built and furnished for a hundred dollars, is among the latest post-war housing shortage-relief suggestions. National Housing Agency, whose representatives are charged with making scientific investigation on housing problems, says paper houses will not get soggy or blow away on a rainy day. It was developed by the Institute of Paper Chemistry before paper shortages became severe, and they claim it is made of waste paper, 'strengthened and waterproofed by impregnation with sulphur strong enough for pre-fabricated house eight feet by sixteen feet.'

DORIS SHERIDAN, New York
Exclusive Cable to *World Review*

CROSS-SECTION
OF THE WORLD'S PRESS

A. Crossman

'British Outburst Stems from U.S. Political Failures'

Among the many recent symptoms of Allied disunity is a British Press attack on America. It was led by a very sophisticated weekly, *The Economist*. The *Yorkshire Post*, owned by Mrs. Anthony Eden's family, chimed in.

. . . . .

The reasons for the British outburst should be understood in America. One of them was nervous strain. And some of their shots—those aimed at policies of our Government rather than at the sentiments of our press or people—were very well aimed indeed.

'Pharisaical' is certainly not too harsh a word for our official attitude in the Italian and Greek troubles. Roosevelt, according to informed reports, had agreed to British policy in the Balkans, but when it went sour Secretary Stettinius, in the name of non-intervention, ostentatiously washed his hands of both affairs. The same refusal to fish or cut bait has marked our policy toward Poland. We try to stave off all definite solutions in Europe during the war. But the British, who live there, can't wait. They are naturally tired of consulting a White House whose words are not commitments.

The British also have an accumulation of small grievances. Many American officers are openly contemptuous of the British. When Churchill was trying to line up a post-war Western *bloc* with France and the Low Countries, objections were raised in America which the British resented. They felt that if New York were being bombarded by V-1s or V-2s from Rhode Island, New Yorkers, instead of having scruples about 'power politics', would do something to bring New York and Rhode Island together.

Then there was the affair of Oliver Lyttelton, Minister of Production, who in a speech remarked that America had been anti-Japanese long before Pearl Harbour and had 'provoked' Japan to war. He meant it as a compliment.

. . . . .

There was a time when forward-looking Britons (like the editors of *The Economist*) figured that the way out of this dilemma was to follow American leadership, to ride the wake of an American world-trade boom sparked by American lending and lower American tariffs. Pro-American Englishmen still pin their faith on that. But they have had little encouragement of late.

They were specifically not encouraged by the recent Chicago Conference on postway air routes, which was front-paged daily in the London Press. Its upshot was that America and Britain are two different nations and that we have no intention of hampering our freedom of action for their sake. Britons are more justly alarmed when Admiral Land says America must maintain twice as big a merchant fleet as before the war. The British know that in an economic showdown, government to government, they cannot compete with us. And they see no signs in Washington that Congress will ever permit an economic alliance.

. . . . .

It is not the querulousness of old age that makes the British Press attack America. It is the profound, if subconscious, British disappointment in America's failure to take the real political leadership of this war. It is our failure to see the true connection between practical necessities, such as food and houses and security, and the many ideals which Americans and Englishmen hold in common. If we could see that, what an ally we would have! And be.

Life

Poland—Poisoned Chalice?

Mr. Churchill has today to face the unpalatable fact that only one man has for the past two years dared to prophesy the capitulation which the British Government has now been forced to accept on the Polish question. That man is Josef Goebbels.

. . . . .

For a long time the Atlantic Charter was for us a vital source of sympathy and support.

Now we learn that this was merely intended as a 'guide', and that it bears no closer relation to the realities or to the intentions of the present than does that other splendid document the Soviet Constitution of 1936. And it has apparently become part of Mr. Churchill's 'Basic English' campaign to accept the removal from such tried and true words as justice, freedom, and honour all that is 'bourgeois'—in this case, all that is good—in their meaning and connotation.

. . . . .

M. Micholajczyk's probable departure for Warsaw will make good capital, although in

reality it indicates nothing but an attempt to save some lives from the wreck. The controversial frontier problem, which is as nothing compared with the rape of personal freedom and of national independence, or with the life-and-death issue of nearly 200,000 Polish comrades-in-arms of the British Forces in the field, may be thrown as dust into critical eyes.

The foolish mistakes of the legal government will no doubt be unfavourably contrasted with the paper achievements of the usurping puppets. Of the tragic, unvarnished truth little will be heard save from those who, by their too vigorous espousal of a non-Russian cause, can be all too conveniently labelled as 'reactionary cranks who seem to forget about Marshal Stalin's lines of communication.'

. . . . . .

I do know that there is still time for the only great free Parliament surviving in Europe to produce men and women of *every* party who can know and speak their minds about the principles which must imbue a nation that seeks to retain any moral leadership.

It may not, after all, be the speeches made by those who will support the Government with unimpeachable orthodoxy which, however brilliant, will most honourably stand the test and scrutiny of the passing years. The significance of this debate will not lie in the large vote of general confidence which the present Government will, and will in the main, deserve to gain.

ALASTAIR FORBES in *Daily Mail*

Tito Opposes Yalta

THIS kind of Regency would be purely ornamental. The problem is not which of the politicians will accept this kind of function. There are some candidates proposed by the King, and certainly by Tito, who would accept this kind of position. But if the Regency is to have real power, and to be based on constitution and true democracy, then the question to be solved is not only that of guarantees, concerning whether or not the Regents will have freedom of action, but of choosing the Regents—genuine democrats.

. . . . . .

In introducing the totalitarian régime, Tito was supported by his army. Acting in a constitutional way, and trying now to create a democratic régime, the Regency will not get the support but opposition from the army. Bearing all this in mind, the oldest democrat in Yugoslavia, Aca Stanoievich, the leader of the Radical Party, refused in a simple way to accept Tito's proposition to become a Regent. According to the speech of Tito's Commissar of Internal Affairs, the priest Zechevich, who said that when Tito proposed to Aca Stanoievich to become a Regent, he asked, 'Is there to be an opposition in your Parliament?' Zechevich answered, 'There is no opposition, for they are all going together.' Then Stanoievich said that if there was no opposition he could not accept this duty. (*Politika*, 13/11/44.) Not one real democrat could have done otherwise.

. . . . . .

For the moment there is in Belgrade strong Tito opposition to the Crimea declaration. V. Ribnikar, the Tito Propaganda Commissar, as H. Harrison, Reuter's correspondent, told us from Belgrade on 15 February, was surprised by the advice that the anti-Fascist Committee (Tito's Parliament) should be enlarged by introducing members from the last Yugoslav Parliament, except those who had collaborated with the Germans. Mr. Ribnikar disapproved of this advice, and pointed out that there is not one member who is not compromised.

We believe that it is impossible to create a strong Regency without support of the three great Allied Powers, which have to intervene, not only in choosing real democrats, but also in protecting their lives.

Tito has a strong capacity to attract not only Communists, but also former Fascists who, once they join his movement, are acquitted of all guilt. For this reason, he has a big selection from which he can choose the Regents, and also future ministers, for the new Yugoslav Government.

Whitehall News

'War against British S.A. Industry'

AFRIKANER nationalism in commerce and industry is a growing reality. In so far as Afrikaner progress in industry and commerce is achieved by the ordinary interplay of free competition, it is legitimate and fair. The purpose of this article is, however, to show the extent to which it is a political and racial movement.

English-speaking South Africans, who never see the Afrikaner Press and the flood of pamphlets put out by Afrikanerdom's multifarious economic and 'cultural' organisations, have no idea of the incessant and widespread activities directed towards ousting our commerce and industry.

. . . . . .

But that is not at all the way the other side look at things. 'Fair competition and may the best man win' is effete, out-moded, British

At last De Gaulle is beginning to shoot the goals himself
TANIN (Turkey)

liberalism. *Their* attitude was stated by Dr. Verwoerd at the ceremonial opening of the new Afrikaner Volkshemde en Klere factory when he said: 'The enemy has established himself strongly in the economic life of the country . . . (but) the Afrikaners have turned round to grip the enemy by the throat.'

It is no idle boast. The first Afrikaner Buyers' Guide listed almost 1,100 Afrikaner businesses. It was proudly announced that the second edition already contained 2,521 names when it was little more than half completed, and *Die Burger* gloated in a leading article 'The English section is more and more losing its leadership in commerce and industry.' That edition ran to 100 pages, and it was announced that 100,000 copies were to be distributed free amongst the faithful, together with a reminder that it was their duty to take their custom to Afrikaner firms.

The Union Review

Brakpan Abolishes English

AMID the news from the Eastern Front and the news from our own food front, Brakpan Town Council has won a place, all its own, by its decision to abolish English as a language in which the municipality conducts its correspondence. At first there was mild surprise at this action by the Afrikaan section of the Council. Protests have followed, and now legal authorities have begun to take a hand. It is claimed that the Council's action is *ultra vires* as it conflicts with the Local Authorities Language Ordinance of 1916 which provides that all communications by Town Councils must be available in both languages. This ordinance holds the Town Clerk responsible, and provides penalties ranging from a fine of £1 or seven days' imprisonment to a maximum of £25 or six months.

South Africa

Latest Books Prohibited in Eire

ACCORDING to the *Irish Oifigiuil*, the following books have been prohibited in Eire on the ground that they are 'in their general tendency indecent':

The Razor's Edge, by W. Somerset Maugham (Heinemann); *The Power House*, by Alex Comfort (Routledge); *Outrageous Fortune*, by Eliot Crawshay-Williams (Long); *Mrs. Loveday*, by Robert Goodyear (Gollancz); *The Inquest*, by Robert Neumann (Hutchinson's International Authors); *Job in the North*, by Gordon Jeffery (Gollancz); *The Rags of Time*, by Frances Dale (Hurst & Blackett); *For Them that Trespass*, by Ernest Raymond (Cassell); *The Black Venus*, by Rhys Davies (Heinemann); *Night Over Java*, by Johan Fabricius (Heinemann); *Beyond Terror*, by Jack Lindsay (Dakers); *There Were No Windows*, by Norah Hoult (Heinemann); *Delay in the Sun*, by Anthony Thorne (Penguin Books).

The Bookseller

Why, Navy?

IN its grace—and in the face of a sickening shortage of nurses in the armed services—the Navy decides that nurses already in the service may marry. And why, if one may question the bizarre ways of Admirals in Washington bureaus, is the Navy still unwilling to accept nurses who have committed the offence of getting married before enrolment? If a married woman may in the one instance be a proper officer and gentleman, why may she not in the other? Will some sea lawyer please explain?

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

From Portugal

THE Governor General of Moçambique has been empowered to spend £122,000 for the organisation of the new Beira-Southern Rhodesia air line.

* * *

The British picture *Thousands Like Us* is being exhibited at Lisbon.

* * *

Acute telephone shortage in Lisbon. Over 5,000 people waiting for telephones at home or in offices. Engineer of the Telephone Company going to London to see if he can get there the necessary material.

* * *

A theatrical show organised by the British Colony for the Portuguese and British Red Cross

was played yesterday at one of the main Lisbon theatres, with Wilde's *Importance of Being Earnest*. The principal parts were played by Mr. Ashley Clarke, British Minister at Lisbon, and his wife.

Diario de Noticias

Kemsley Reader Nervous

SIR,—An interesting question of today is whether the war or the world will cease first?

When one considers the enormous consumption of oil (by every nation) in these days, one begins to realise the effect it is having on this world's protective band of oil over its heated centre.

At any time now, I think, we may expect shocks and earthquakes of an increasingly strong power.

Letter in the *Daily Sketch*

Democracy

A YOUNG lady who is a copy girl on one of the local newspapers was trotting along lower Fifth Avenue one evening when she heard the report of a tyre blowing out. It was a cab, and the passenger was Mrs. Roosevelt. Our heroine watched while the driver, with many apologies, transferred the First Lady to another cab. Next morning, the girl mentioned the incident to her editor and asked if it might make a little item. 'I'm afraid not,' he said patiently. 'Not if she didn't stay and help him change the tyre.'

New Yorker

Housing

SUCH rabbit-hutches as these (Portal houses) seem only to be suitable for Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, though only Snow White and three of the dwarfs would be able to get in, and one of them would certainly be Grumpy.

SEYMOUR COCKS, M.P., *Gen*

Babel

A FRENCH orphan, Marie Labouchère, aged 1 year, has been adopted by Mr. and Mrs. K. C. Jones, 63 Sholtus Avenue, Prestwick. In an interview with Mrs. Jones early this morning I was informed that she and her husband intend learning French, so that they will be able to talk to the baby when it grows up.

Ayr Advertiser

Journalism

THE purpose of this page—to plague pomposity—to sketch in true perspective—to put man in his place and God where he ought to be.

Heading in
The Norwood Press and Dulwich Advertiser

NO SIDE

"Grand game. Strenuous but clean. You hospital sides are certainly no lily-handed intellectuals."

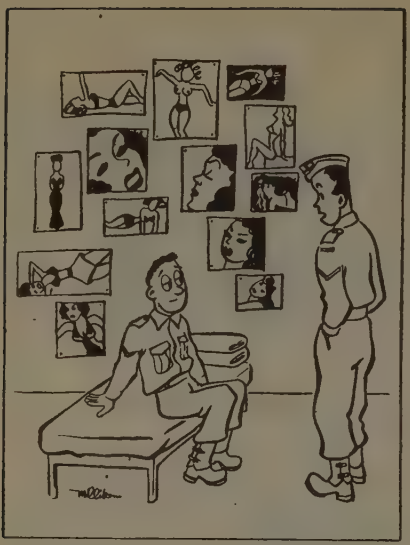
"*Oh, we have our softer side, as I hope you'll find at our supper tonight. Are you in good voice?*"

"Moderate. But I'm somewhat apprehensive. You medicos have a reputation for sewing people up in a strictly non-surgical sense — and I've an important interview in the morning."

"*Friend, set your mind at rest. We've had the luck to lay hands on a certain amount of Rose's Lime Juice, which you can either mix or drink straight as a grand finale. We medicals abhor the very mention of a hangover.*"

"So you've even got Rose's laid on! You disciples of Aesculapius certainly do know the scientific distinction between a bee and a bull's foot."

ROSE'S—*There is no substitute*



'And how about YOUR *post-war plans, Multingate?'*

BEM

Music and Dancing (I)

FOR SALE—Piano, upright, in good condition, good sounding and keeps time very good. Call at 83 Opechee Street.

Advt. in the *Laconia (N.H.) Evening Citizen*

Music and Dancing (II)

10:00 P.M.

WFIL Raymond Gram Swing
WOR Royal Arch Gunnison

10:15 P.M.

WIBG Anything But Swing

Radio program timetable in the *Philadelphia Bulletin*

Music and Dancing (III)

THE Merchant Navy have faced death for you. . . . You are asked to dance for them at St. Botolph's Hall. Advt. in *Lincolnshire Echo*

Technique

MENUHIN's latest recordings are, as usual, most beautifully played—so beautifully, in fact, as to distract one's attention from the quality of the music.

EDWARD SACKVILLE WEST in *The New Statesman and Nation*

Hot Music

I PERSPIRE profusely when conducting, but I believe Albert Coates suffers even more than I do, which reminds me of a joke played on him at one of the Leeds Festivals. During rehearsals he hung up various under-garments on a string across the general artists' room. There were shouts of laughter when he came in and found that one of the orchestra had used a rubber stamp belonging to one of the gramophone companies and had stamped every garment 'Tested and Rejected'.

SIR HENRY WOOD in *My Life of Music*

Ghastly Blunder

MR. J. B. wishes to deny that he attributes his mental and physical abilities to stamps, as stated in this column on 15 Dec. He attributes them to rowing.

Extract from *Philatelic Magazine*

Ad. Peek?

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL. Nestling in the heart of Wiltshire, near the famous Plain, and breathing a spirit the Luftwaffe cannot break. It reflects the good things of English life and will survive the present struggle as will your

PEEK FREAN
BISCUITS

Including the famous Twiglets (Reg.), Cocktail Varieties, and all-wheat Crispbread.

Ad. in *New Yorker*

Refinement in Charleston

WANTED—Refined young lady to share expenses of a home, all privileges. Must be good sport and willing to party on Saturday night. References exchanged. Box 'B', this paper.

Adv. in the Charleston News and Courier

WANTED—Refined young lady to share expenses of a home, all privileges. References exchanged. Box 'B', this paper, or phone 3-2400.

Adv. in the same paper

The Heel!

DEAR Lois Leeds,—I have a swelled callous (or what looks like that) at the back of my heel. It is painful. What do you suggest?—EIGHTEEN.

Answer—See a chiropodist at once! These heel injuries have a way of getting worse unless checked at once. You should rest and not risk further irritation. For a copy of 'Bosom Beautiful' send a 3-cent stamped, self-addressed envelope to me.

Advice column in the *Hollywood Citizen-News*

Forethought justified

The symbolic name of the Society, adopted in 1862, has been vindicated by history.

During all those 83 years, every dividend payment has been made on the due date at the highest rate consistent with security. Careful investors are invited to write for particulars.

Reliance

PERMANENT

BUILDING SOCIETY

Correspondence:
6 The Lawn, Rydens Avenue
WALTON-ON-THAMES
Secretary: Charles Horne

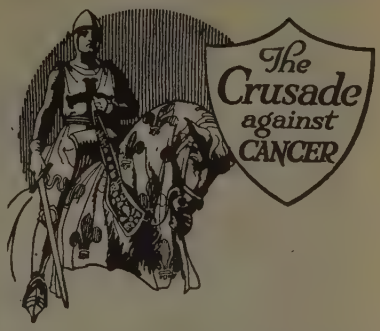
RW/RS4

See that your post-war home *has clock plug points above all mantel shelves* *and wherever else "Sectric" clocks* *are likely to be needed . . .*

SMITH SECTRIC CLOCKS

plug in to Greenwich time
via
MAT LIGHT OR POWER POINT ON A.C. MAINS

Scientific B.C.1B



AN INVITATION

Will *you* visit our Hospital and see for yourself the part we are playing in the Crusade against Cancer? In case you shrink from facing the pathos and the tragedy of it all, read Mr. H. V. Morton's description (from "The Heart of London") of *his* visit.

"I saw, greater than the black thing whose vileness no words can mitigate, the splendid forces of Hope and Heroism; Heroism in the long quiet wards, Hope in the operating theatres, in the laboratories. Tragedy and triumph follow each other through these white halls, and over all is that fine spirit of enthusiasm as of an army banded to fight for a cause."

Your visit would show you another side of life. A donation (however small) would help towards the eventual conquest of this dread disease. Will you accept the invitation?

The Royal Cancer Hospital

(FREE)

FULHAM ROAD LONDON, S.W.3

FINE, THANKS!

I eat something crisp and crunchy every day.

When I can get it, I prefer **RYVITA**

CRISP, NOURISHING DAILY BREAD

'Pain is gain'

—Greek axiom

For generations mankind looked on pain as nothing but an enemy — something to be feared and hated. Not until medical knowledge groped its uncertain way out of the darkness of the middle ages did men perceive a glimmer of the truth that pain can in fact be a powerful friend and protector of the race. Without pain to sound the alarm, disease would spread and increase until no remedy could be of any avail. Without pain to point a guiding finger, doctors would be, to a very great extent, powerless to diagnose what is amiss.

Pain, then, is meant to be *used* : by the sufferer as an indication that something is wrong ; by the doctor as an indication of what that something is.

But as soon as it has done its job, it becomes merely an enemy, that must be allayed as speedily as possible by 'damping down ' the super-sensitiveness of the brain and nervous system.

That is the function of ' Cogene '.

' Cogene ' is not one drug, but a combination of four separate drugs, scientifically blended to produce an analgesic which will ' reach ' the most harassing nerve pain and yet leave no harmful after-effects.

Ask your doctor if ' Cogene ' is indicated. It is sold by all chemists at 1/1½d. a tube.

Never forget, though, that while ' Cogene ' will relieve the pain, it cannot remove the cause of the pain : only a doctor or a dentist can do that.

'COGENE'

(Regd. Trade Mark) *Brand Tablets*

A 'GENATOSAN' Product

Education (I)

THE importance of underwear is recognised here by the Education authorities. Among the classes being held this winter at the Domestic Science Department of Blackpool Technical College are special 'lingerie' classes at which students learn everything connected with well-cut and well-made undies. *The Corsetry and Underwear Journal*

Education (II)

THIS is a Mae West story from W. Winchell about how the buxom star was taking care of a friend's four-year-old girl one hot weekend recently. It was a boiling, humid afternoon and Mae was taking her second tub of the day. As she lay in the water, the tot came in. 'Aunty Mae,' said the child, 'may I get in the tub with you?' Mae invited her in. The little girl kept staring at her. 'What's the matter?' asked Mae. 'I was just wondering,' said the child, 'why is it that I am so plain and you are so fancy.'

Stars and Stripes

Overstatement (I)

WHY do Editors have to exaggerate when it is quite unnecessary? The *Leader* prefaces an article on Madame Blavatsky with the sentence, 'Every outburst of interest in the occult revives the controversy about one woman.' There has been an 'outburst of interest in the occult' during the war, but never once have I heard Blavatsky's name mentioned in this connection.

Psychic News

Overstatement (II)

YOU cannot get a good secretary, I will not say for love, but certainly for money.

D. N. PRITT in *Star*

Overstatement (III)

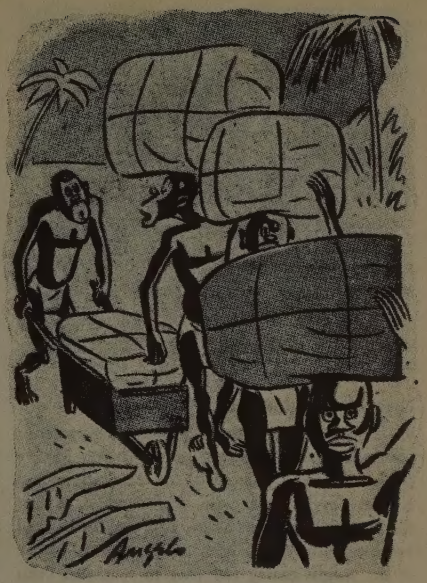
BLUE PRINT FOR BELLY ACHES.—Title in *Time and Tide* for review of *Welfare in the British Colonies*, by L. P. MAIR.

At the Ivy

WHEN, last week, Hannen Swaffer met Herbert Morrison in the Ivy Restaurant and had one of his chaffing bouts with him, Morrison, after hearing Swaffer say that Ministers 'couldn't take it', ended the conversation with a grin and the words, 'Well, I'll see you on the Other Side.'

'But,' replied Swaffer, 'you are on the other side.'

Then they parted. *Psychic News*



'Maybe you are more practical—but you ain't picturesque'
ESQUIRE

Landis Loves

WHEN love really happens, it goes down in the book as a miracle. I wonder why. Carole Landis fell into an overseas romance with Captain Thomas Wallace of the United States Air Corps and knew it was love at first sight.

'The level eyes, the fine way his head sets on his shoulders, his gay, alive, energetic voice'—those are some of the things Carole fell for about Tommy, she will tell you. Yet those qualities might fit the list of qualifications which a dozen and one girls would mention in their search for a husband.

ALMA ARCHER in *The Mirror* (New York)

The English, are they Human?

MY father's father was Irish and his mother was Spanish. My great-grandmother on my mother's side was Burmese. I hope to marry an English girl shortly. Is there any danger that our children will be abnormal? Letter in *News of the World*

N.B.

THE tremendous happenings in the world today are explained in the thirteenth chapter of St. Mark. It is very important for everyone to read it.

Letter from SIR WALDRON SMITHERS, M.P., in *Daily Sketch*

'I'm afraid a plaid would be too gay. You see, it's for an elderly dog' NEW YORKER

Poet's Inspiration

LOUIS UNTERMEYER, 58, unremitting poetaster and anthologist (*Modern American Poetry; Modern British Poetry*), was sued for separation and alimony by his third wife, who claimed, in affidavits filed with the court, that on their tenth wedding anniversary he had asked for a divorce so he 'might marry the woman who had been living with him as his mistress.' The woman was identified as a one-time pupil of Untermeyer's. Mrs. Untermeyer charged that her husband had been receiving 'vulgar' verse from his former pupil ever since. Mr. Untermeyer said that his new love had revived his poetic inspiration.

Time

What We Are Fighting For

'I LIKE pin-up girls with few clothes on, because they look better that way, but I would rather it were my own girl friend back home,' a soldier wrote to the *Union Jack*.

'I asked her to be photographed the way that pin-up girls are, but when she started to take her frock off the photographer threatened to call the police and ordered her out of the shop.

'Is this the kind of narrow-mindedness we are fighting for?' asked the soldier, who signed himself 'Disgusted'.

The Bulletin

Now What Can It Be?

THE King David Hotel (Jerusalem) is fixed in your memory and affections by a subtle, indescribable something.

Advertisement in *The Sphinx*, Cairo

Supporting Evidence

IN Manhattan, Edna Dessau, shot and severely wounded last year by one Dr. Samuel Weinrib, told Judge Jonah Goldstein that she did not care about prosecuting the doctor; she merely wanted the return of her pre-war girdle, through which the bullet passed. Judge Goldstein refused on the ground that the girdle was State's Evidence.

Time

On Approval

A LADY we know almost succeeded in renting an apartment last week—that is, she found an apartment which was for rent, and it remained only to convince the agent that she was an acceptable tenant. During the interview, she admitted straightforwardly that she has a dog. 'Hmm,' the agent said. 'And what kind of a dog is it?' Just a little dog, she explained—a cocker spaniel. The agent thought for a moment, then cautiously inquired, 'What colour?'

New Yorker

Naturally . . .

FRIENDLY, kindly, and simple, he was essentially a reasonable man. He was a natural bachelor.

Evening News

Diplomacy

A LARGE lady swept into a Chinese laundry down in Chelsea, tossed on to the counter a laundered shirt with several buttons missing, and inquired what the management was going to do about it. The management shrugged his shoulders and expressed little or no interest. 'Very well,' said the large lady, 'we will take this into consideration at the peace table.'

New Yorker

SIMPLICITY

An invitation to speak at the opening of the New York Museum of Science and Industry was extended by letter to Albert Einstein. Days passed with no word from the great scientist. Finally approached by an intermediary, Einstein explained innocently, 'I've given up opening mail, and I honestly find life much simpler that way'.

Quote

4

BITING COLD AND TORRID HEAT

BRITISH fighting men are adaptable to any climate . . . and it is said that they will endure any weather providing that a cup of tea is handy. Knowing this, the Church Army Mobile Canteens travel up and down the fronts of the World, giving comfort and cheer to our men. In Germany, in the Middle East—there you will find them . . . And at home too, serving the men and women of our Forces.

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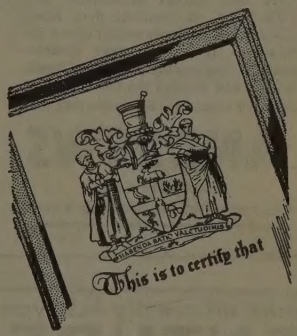

TO the student of heraldry the coat of arms of the Pharmaceutical Society conveys the age-old history of drugs and medicaments. To the chemist it symbolises the lore of pharmacy through the years and its imprint on his certificate indicates his efficiency. To the general public it guarantees a service that is a vital part of the country's health organisation.

Ask your chemist's opinion of

Euthymol TOOTH PASTE

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The use of denture powder and brush for cleaning artificial teeth has proved completely satisfactory in practice, and should become a regular habit, especially after meals, in the interests of hygiene.
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